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FBIS-SOV-92-006 *9 January 1992*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The "Central Eurasia DAILY REPORT" covers the same geographic area as the former "Soviet Union DAILY REPORT." The sections within have been reorganized. The "International Affairs" and the "Interregional Affairs" sections have been reduced, while the individual republic sections have been expanded. Much information previously found in the "International Affairs" and "Interregional Affairs" sections will be found under "Russia: International Affairs" or "Russia: Federation Affairs."

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U.S. Strategic Weapons Reductions Viewed

PM0801124592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Artur Blinov and Aleksandr Sychev report: "The Pentagon Proposes To Review the Targets of Possible Nuclear Strikes"]

[Text] The U.S. Administration is reviewing the possibility of reducing military expenditures in the interests of civilian programs, primarily in the sphere of the health service.

In an interview that U.S. President G. Bush gave to the television commentator David Frost, it was said that the Pentagon budget is no longer a "sacred cow" during examinations of budget priorities. Without citing specific data, the U.S. President reported that in planning the new federal budget, the administration he heads proceeds from the premise that "economies can be made in defense." R. Cheney, U.S. defense secretary, also shares this point of view, G. Bush reported. Last Sunday [5 January], S. Skinner, White House chief of staff, confirmed that R. Cheney is preparing the appropriate proposals.

As American observers are noting, real reductions in military expenditures have become possible in connection with the end of the "cold war" and the disappearance of the "Soviet threat," and the practical need for them is connected with the continuing federal budget deficit.

According to J. Sasser, chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, in the next five years, the United States could reduce military expenditures by a total of $120-150 billion over and above the Pentagon's previously planned reductions. Altogether up to $400 billion could be saved in the space of 10 years.

As the American press is reporting, the administration's intended proposals are of a more limited nature. It is believed that they will provide for a reductions of $50 billion in appropriations to the Pentagon over a five-year period. The Pentagon has not yet confirmed this figure, nor has it reported what specifically it will give up.

President G. Bush's administration should adopt radical measures as regards U.S. strategic weapons to reflect the changes taking place in the world which have been evoked by the end of the "cold war" and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. A group of Pentagon experts headed by General Lee Butler, director of the strategic planning department [post as published], came to this conclusion after five months of work on the report on problems in U.S. nuclear planning.

The report, 44 pages long, of which THE WASHINGTON POST managed to obtain a copy, envisages the radical reduction of U.S. strategic nuclear forces, more significant than that envisaged in the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Weapons [START] signed in Moscow in 1991 and awaiting ratification in the U.S. Senate at present.

However, the report says, the U.S. strategic arsenal should be greater than those of Great Britain, France, and China put together. The authors of the report propose that it will be quite possible for Washington to roughly halve its strategic forces in the next few years, and have around 5,000 units of this class of weapon in its arsenal.

Furthermore, according to experts in the Pentagon, the United States should give up what is known as the Single Integrated Operations Plan currently in force, which enshrines numerous targets on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Instead of this, General Butler's group proposes that five independent plans be elaborated for repulsing (both by nuclear and nonnuclear means) the threat of an attack on the United States on the part of "any possible adversary" wherever in the world he may be located.

The report also proposes that "limited options" of nuclear strikes against the former territory of the USSR be elaborated, and that targets far from Moscow and other major cities be determined so that such strikes would lead to a minimum number of casualties. The provisions of this document have already evoked the criticism of well-known U.S. military experts. Thus, Robert McNamara, former U.S. defense secretary, stated that the analysis presented in it "is only slightly different from an analysis from 'cold war' times."

U.S. Departments Vie for Weapons Disposal

PM0801120592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 3

[Major M. Pogorelyy report: "The Money Has Been Allocated. It Remains To Dispose of It Wisely"]

[Text] It emerges that we are not the only ones tormented at the present time by the burning question: "Where, and on what, should money be spent?" The U.S. Administration is faced with a similar problem. It emerges that it is finding it extremely difficult to spend the money allocated by U.S. Congress to help in ensuring the secure storage and the destruction of Soviet nuclear missiles. Moreover, it is no small sum either—$400 million.

It is obviously because of the size of the sum that rivalry between various U.S. Government departments has flared up in the lobbies. One expert, who wished to remain anonymous, frankly noted that "everyone is having ideas, and everyone wants to get his slice of the cake."

In particular, the State Department is claiming this money. Its head, James Baker, insists that a large part of this sum should go to assist the former Soviet republics to destroy several thousand tactical nuclear weapons, which M. Gorbachev originally promised to eliminate. At the same time, in Baker's opinion, the process should be carried out under the aegis of the State Department. In the next few days, AP

reports, an imposing delegation headed by Deputy State Secretary R. Bartholomew is due to travel round the states of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] for the purpose of on-site reconnaissance.

However, the Pentagon is also keen to obtain its "slice of the cake," especially since this $400 million was borrowed from funds originally destined for the U.S. military department. Besides, it is obvious that in practice solving the problems of Soviet tactical nuclear weapons and their storage and dismantling will in any case involve the participation of U.S. military experts.

Unfortunately, so far no agreement has been found either between the member states of the Commonwealth on the question of how best to spend the funds allocated by our partners....

Olympics President To Meet With Yeltsin

LD0901080192 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Madrid January 9 TASS—The FRANCE-PRESSE news agency has quoted Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, as saying on Wednesday [8 January] that "until today reports about the participation of the former Soviet Union in the Barcelona Olympic Games were contradictory," but now it is possible to say the Soviet Union will be represented by a joint team in Barcelona.

Samaranch said he would fly to Moscow on Saturday, January 18, to discuss the question with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Russia, Azerbaijan Apply for IMF Membership

LD0901025492 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Igor Barsukov]

[Text] Washington January 8 TASS—Russia and Azerbaijan applied to join the International Monetary Fund, according to a press release issued by the IMF on Tuesday [7 January] in Washington.

In keeping with the existing procedure, applications of the two states will be considered by the executive directorate of the fund, which will submit its recommendations to the IMF board of governors. These recommendations deal with the fee which must be paid by members, the forms of payment and other general terms of membership in the International Monetary Fund. If the board of governors approves the directorate's recommendations, the governments of the two states will have to take certain legal steps to be able to sign agreements on joining the IMF and fulfill their obligations as members. Last week Ukraine became the first member of the Commonwealth of Independent States to apply for IMF membership.

The World Bank also reported on Tuesday [7 January] that on January 3 Russia sent an application. A precondition for that is membership of the country in the IMF. The deciding vote on the issue of admitting new members to the IMF and the World Bank belongs to the United States, which plays a leading role in both international organisations.

On January 3, Nicholas Brady, the U.S. finance minister, said the Bush administration is in favour of full membership for Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia, with which Washington established full diplomatic relations.

"The membership in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank will promote the implementation of reforms for the creation of market economies in these newly independent states. We shall cooperate with them to be sure their applications will be considered as soon as possible," Brady stated. Earlier the U.S. supported granting the former Soviet Union the status of a special associate member in the IMF and the World Bank.

Shaposhnikov Postpones Visit to U.S.

PM0901094992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Single Edition p 3

[Editorial office announcement under general heading: "It Has Been Made Known to Us..."]

[Text] Aviation Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, has deferred his visit to the United States, scheduled for the second 10 days of January.

This is connected with the need to make a series of visits to the capitals of the CIS countries to coordinate positions regarding the future of the Armed Forces.

It is expected that the visit to the United States will nonetheless take place, but later, after the heads of the CIS states have coordinated defense questions.

DPRK To Sign Nonproliferation Agreement

LD0901095392 Moscow TASS in English 0847 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Nikishov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) will sign a safeguards agreement to the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons at the end of January, North Korean Ambassador Son Song-pil told a news conference at the DPRK Embassy in Moscow on Wednesday [8 January].

The ambassador commented on a DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman's statement dated January 7 announcing the government's decision to sign a safeguards accord soon, ratify it and receive an inspection group in accordance with the established procedure and arrangement with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Son Song-pil spoke positively of South Korea's recent statement that there are no nuclear weapons in the south of the Korean peninsula. An atmosphere necessary for "a fair solution to the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula" has been established, he said, reaffirming his government's striving to seek the conversion of the peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

In response to a question from TASS correspondents, the ambassador specified that a safeguards agreement would be signed not later than the end of this month.

He said this is connected only with procedural aspects and is not dependent on any other circumstances.

Son Song-pil welcomed the decision of the United States and South Korea not to hold joint large-scale exercises Team Spirit this year.

"This decision signifies that our demands for the creation of guarantees of nuclear security have been met," the North Korean ambassador emphasised.

DPRK's Ability To Make Nuclear Arms Viewed

SK0901013192 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Report by Pyongyang-based Moscow radio reporter, from "Today's World" Program]

[Text] On 7 January, the DPRK announced that it is ready to sign and ratify the nuclear safeguards accord with the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. The DPRK also stated that it will accept international inspection of its nuclear facilities in the near future. According to a report from Vienna, where the headquarters of the organization for international issues is located, the DPRK will sign these documents by the end of this week.

The nations which have participated in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty have the obligation to sign the nuclear safeguards accord with IAEA within 18 months and to accept international inspection of their nuclear facilities.

The DPRK signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in December 1985. However, the DPRK has never accepted international inspection of its nuclear facilities.

Two years ago, some countries' space satellites discovered facilities for producing plutonium, which is required for nuclear warheads, in North Korea. Since that time, the nuclear issue has been raised as an acute question.

According to what is known, the DPRK has three nuclear reactor facilities. The first reactor facility was built in 1965 with the help of the Soviet Union. This was a science-oriented facility. The remaining two were built with the DPRK's own resources. No foreigner has ever discovered the functions of these reactor facilities.

The process of these facilities raised the fear that Pyongyang was developing its own nuclear weapons. However, Belayev, reporter of this radio station who has lived in the DPRK for nearly 10 years, wrote that in view of this nation's technological level, it is hard to believe that nuclear weapons have been developed at these facilities. An international inspection of these facilities will be accepted.

Meanwhile, Seoul announced that it will cancel the U.S.-ROK Team Spirit joint military exercise this year, responding to such a decision by Pyongyang. Washington also promised to vitalize unofficial contact with the DPRK. Diplomats of the two countries are holding such contacts in Beijing.

Prospects for Refugee Exodus to West Eyed

PM0901095392 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 1, 5 Jan 92 (Signed to Press 31 Dec 91) p 13

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yevgeniy Andryushchenko; "Run? Where? West Is on Verge of Closing Its Borders to Refugees"]

[Text] The press today is overflowing with stories about the menacing scale of migration to the rich countries of Europe and North America. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the number seeking asylum in Western Europe alone went up from 70,000 in 1989 to 442,000 in 1990. And this is despite the fact that the "nuclear-ethnic explosion" on the territory of the disintegrating and economically stricken Soviet Union is still being held in check by psychological and organizational inertia.

In the opinion of the Dutch demographer Dirk van der Kaa, "about 2 million Soviet citizens are currently ready to leave for Western Europe for socioeconomic reasons, and something like 6 million of their compatriots may soon join them." Estimates differ, however. Austrian Interior Minister Franz Loeschnak believes that once the Law "On Entry and Exit" comes into force, the first wave of emigrants could bring 10-15 million people across the borders of the former Union, and the second wave could bring 8-9 million. So which sections of former Soviet society are most likely to make up the vanguard of what the foreign press is calling a future "invading army" sweeping Europe and America?

First of all, refugees. In the Caucasus region alone thousands of civilians have already been killed and wounded. Over the years hundreds of internal forces servicemen and militia personnel who have vainly tried to separate the warring sides have perished or been wounded as a result of the undeclared and futile war that is going on here. Population centers have been bombarded on innumerable occasions. The number of casualties is roughly equal to U.S. losses during the "Desert Storm" operation.

Back in September 1991 records show that 301,132 of the refugees were Armenians, 204,926 were Azerbaijanis, 54,302 were Ossetians, and 9,948 were Meskhetian Turks. Since then these figures have increased markedly.

Across the country as a whole, the number of citizens who have been forced to leave their place of permanent residence already exceeds 700,000. And this is despite the fact that millions of people have still not moved from the Baltic countries, Moldova, and Central Asia, where the number of bloody incidents is also on the increase.

It is not hard to see the multitude of flagrant instances of the blatant, "peaceful" forcing out of nonindigenous nationalities from these former Soviet republics, particularly when there is a slump in production and growing unemployment. Until internal migration increases whereas 97,900 people left Uzbekistan in 1989, in 1990

the figure was 179,600; from Kazakhstan the respective figures were 93,400 and 130,900; from Azerbaijan, 40,200 and 136,700; from Kyrgyzstan, 17,600 and 40,900; from Tajikistan, 20,600 and 60,300; and from Moldova, 16,300 and 29,800. The positive balance in the Baltic republics has been replaced by a negative one. As a result, for example, 11,800 people have left Lithuania. It is precisely these people who would prefer to leave for the West than to seek refuge in Russia, which in their opinion has betrayed them and is unable to offer any kind of help because of poverty.

Small ethnic groups outside their national republics have an opportunity to obtain the status of political refugees, not "economic migrants" whom the West can brush aside. After them come people who have no relation to any USSR republic. These include 171,000 ethnic Hungarians, 1,126,000 Poles, and Romanians outside Moldova. At the moment European countries are merely putting mechanical obstacles in the way of the floods of migrants.

Western Europe is tightening up its legislation on immigrants. In France an employer must register foreigners when he hires them. Joint liability by the boss and hired worker has been introduced with regard to payment of various taxes and deductions for social needs.

Harsh penalties are specified for breaking the law—confiscation of property and output and a five-year ban on professional activity. People who secretly trade in manpower risk a five-year jail sentence. The same jail term awaits those who help foreigners to sneak into the country and live on its territory. Arrivals who resist expulsion from the country risk imprisonment for terms ranging six months to three years.

These actions taken by the government are understandable: In Marseille alone, with its population of 850,000, there are 80,000 Arabs, 70,000 Jews, and 60,000 Armenians, as well as Vietnamese and black Africans... Living standards, cultural standards, traditions, customs, habits, and lifestyles all collide. There is frequent incompatibility which is expressed in hostility with an ethnic tinge.

The number of Frenchmen who agree with the position of Jean-Marie Le Pen, the head of the right-wing National Front who violently opposes immigrants, has almost doubled over a year to 32 percent. As is well known, Le Pen bases his policy on calls to repatriate some of the 4 million-plus foreigners living in France.

Western countries have not yet worked out an effective approach to implementing immigration policy. EC attempts to regulate the floods of refugees are not achieving their aim. The program they worked out last year to repatriate the Vietnamese "boat people" was based on issuing grants in dollars to those who "behaved in a reasonable manner." Some $11.5 million were allocated for this purpose through the end of 1991. However, the outcome was virtually the reverse of this. The number of Vietnamese who made it to Hong Kong exceeded 62,000. Charity, it seems, became an additional enticement. The moral and material costs sustained by the Western world in the face of these floods of immigrants show that it is significantly harder and more ruinous to staunch this flow than it is to find ways and means of keeping refugees at arm's length. The problem will not be solved simply by humanitarian aid, by food for example, especially as the aid "trickles away somewhere" at the distribution stage, as B. Yeltsin himself admits. Clearly, what is needed is a systematic program to encourage modernization of the base sectors that guarantee an acceptable standard of human life, primarily agriculture, processing industry, and light industry. Only these can guarantee preconditions for the establishment of the market. Otherwise all attempts to switch to the market "from above," the implementation of ruble convertibility, and Western financial aid could prove to be nonstarters unless the realities of the monopolized and militarized Soviet economic system are borne in mind.

Italy Unfreezes Credits to Commonwealth

LD0901024592 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Golyayev]

[Text] Rome January 8 TASS—The Italian Government is unfreezing credits to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to pay for supplies of clothes, shoes, and other essential goods are paid. At the moment all hurdles blocking credits have practically disappeared, Roberto Ruberti, the director general of the State Export Insurance Credit Committee (SEICC), said.

This concerns the 1200 billion lira credit planned in 1990, a part of which has already been used in buying Italian goods. This money was transferred to the Vnesheconombank of the former USSR, which could only partially use it to pay off Italian supplier firms. Italy pays its firms with the hope of the debt repayed later.

But in the beginning of December 1991, a consortium of Italian banks providing credits to the former Soviet Union under guarantees from the Italian Government, froze its payment on the basis of the "confusing situation in the USSR of those days." Now the situation has changed. After formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in December 1991, the Italian consortium of banks "does not see any hurdles in holding back the credits." Now all depends on the final instructions of the Italian Government, which will be adopted at Thursday's [9 January] session of the SEICC, ANSA News Agency reported.

During Russian President Boris Yeltsin's recent visit to Rome, the Italian side had taken a decision to unfreeze a packet of credits worth 1500 billion lire. They were also blocked due to political situation in the former Soviet Union. Altogether, Italy and the former USSR had concluded agreements about providing 7200 billion liras in credits for a five year period to the former USSR.

Commonwealth

Foreign Ministers To Convene in Moscow 10 Jan

LD0901111992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1002 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—The foreign ministers of the member countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] are to convene for a meeting in Moscow on 10 January. The decision to hold the meeting was made by the CIS heads of state at their meeting in Minsk on 30 December.

The TASS correspondent was told today at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry that the ministers are expected to discuss issues relating to the creation of a working group to prepare the next meeting of the CIS heads of state and the issue of the property of the former USSR, as well as military and political aspects of the life of the Commonwealth. Nor has it been ruled out that the latter group of issues could include problems arising in connection with the process of creating individual armies in the CIS states.

One of the main and most difficult items to be discussed by the heads of the foreign policy departments will be the issue of dividing up the property of the former Soviet Union abroad. This primarly means the diplomatic representations. According to Russian diplomats, until Russia's partners in the CIS open their own embassies, Moscow's diplomatic representations are prepared to represent the interests of the Commonwealth member-countries, and to do so also within international structures such as the CSCE and United Nations.

Western Observers Urge Military Alliance

PM0801135392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 3

[Commentary by observer Aleksandr Golts under the rubric "Topic of the Week": "The West Fears Us, And We Fear—Each Other?"]

[Text] I think that in recent days, journalists of all countries must have been feeling professional gratitude to the states being created in place of the USSR. News is traditionally scarce in the first days of a new year, and this circumstance requires special inventiveness from those working in the mass media. But this time there was no need to invent anything original. The turbulent flow of events on one-sixth of the world's land surface knows no Christmases or New Year holidays. The results of the meeting between the leaders of the member countries of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] in Minsk served during the entire first week of the new year as the basis for extremely varied forecasts and interpretations.

At the same time, it would appear that now, when the CIS leaders have finally agreed in Minsk on unified control over nuclear weapons and even on the structure of strategic forces to be under unified command, the West ought to feel reassured. However, this has not happened.

The majority of observers incline to the opinion expressed by the British INDEPENDENT, which suggests that the decision to preserve unified command over nuclear forces is not a significant achievement, since the former Soviet republics had actually agreed earlier that B. Yeltsin would exercise control over the nuclear button. Far more serious is the fact that at the meeting no agreement was reached concerning the future of the Armed Forces as a whole.

Indeed, foreign experts cannot fail be put on their guard by the fact that, having agreed on strategic nuclear forces, which strictly speaking constitute the very basis of defense, the leaders of the republics could not take the next step. And this makes one wonder about the true intentions of the CIS leaders, indeed, about the future of the Commonwealth also: Are the "founding fathers" of the CIS actually afraid of one another? "With no definite status, with no financial resources, without a unified coordinating structure, and without a common defense, the CIS today is nothing but an empty shell," is the depressing conclusion of LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS. Journalistic hyperbole? Possibly. But let us not forget that the background to these conclusions is the profound economic crisis and interethnic problems. Here one should add the recent liberalization of prices, which, in the opinion of the authoritative FINANCIAL TIMES, is being implemented without a clear currency, budgetary, or privatization policy. And all this threatens not only still greater instability, but also possible trade wars between the republics. In these circumstances how can the West fail to give thought to the fate of the Soviet military potential?

The results of such reflections have appeared almost instantaneously. The prime minister of Great Britain (who is chairing the UN Security Council) has proposed holding an emergency meeting of the leaders of the permanent member countries of this body. The press reports that the main theme of such a meeting will be the question of control over the disintegrated USSR's nuclear weapons. According to THE GUARDIAN's information, B. Yeltsin supports this idea.

To be sure, the West's concern today is assuming various guises. Sometimes extremely delicate ones. Such as Washington's decision to send to the republics three groups of government experts to discuss specific forms of U.S. assistance in dismantling, storing, and destroying Soviet nuclear munitions.

Sometimes the guise is quite tough, like the recent statement of U.S. Defense Minister R. Cheney. Noting that "despite the economic collapse and the change over of the political structure in the former USSR, the production of new nuclear weapons and the deployment of

new ballistic rockets targeted on the United States continues to this very moment." R. Cheney stated that such behavior is "impermissible." I think that the head of the U.S. Department of Defense is aware of the fact that the replacement of missiles is being carried out within the framework of existing accords. His statement is obviously dictated by another concern: U.S. strategists are worried by the uncertainty which they are encountering with regard to the CIS' military system. This is confirmed by THE NEW YORK TIMES, which indicates that assurances received by Washington from the leaders of the independent states concerning unified control by no means represent the final solution of the question. Guarantees and monitoring arrangements [rezhim proverki] are needed, the paper stresses.

Is it any wonder that in these circumstances of uncertainty, pessimistic forecasts, and even blatant insinuations, are springing up like mushrooms after rainfall? Virtually all the Western mass media in recent days have cited E. Shevardnadze, who stated that in these conditions of chaos, the possibility that nuclear weapons might find their way into the hands of paramilitary formations cannot be ruled out. If I were a Western politician, the former head of the Soviet foreign policy department commented, this fact would worry me most of all. I think that E. Shevardnadze's fellow citizens cannot remain indifferent to this fact either.

And the Italian newspaper L'UNITA this week simply reported that contraband deliveries of nuclear weapons and radioactive materials from the republics of the former USSR to the Near East are allegedly taking place.

And however much such forecasts or journalistic "canards" are rebutted, new ones will appear in place of the old. Because the cause of their appearance—fear in the face of uncontrolled chaos on the territory of the former USSR—is not disappearing. Of course, not one of the independent states will be a normal or attractive partner in the eyes of the West until this fear disappears.

What is to be done? There is a solution, in my opinion. It lies in solving the main problem: the creation of a clear and coordinated military policy in the framework of the single strategic area. Essentially we are talking about concluding a military alliance between the countries of the CIS. Maybe cooperation in the framework of such an alliance, and also the possibility of controlling all military activity within a single strategic area, will also create an atmosphere of greater trust between CIS members?

But of course, only if the main prerequisite for the formation of such an alliance exists. That is to say, close political cooperation in the name of common goal—guaranteeing reliable security. Obviously, it is vitally important today to establish this cooperation within the CIS in order to solve both internal and foreign policy problems. And then maybe we will stop frightening the world?

Military

Further Reportage on Black Sea Fleet Conflict

Fleet Admiral Interviewed

PM0901093592 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 92 p 1

[Interview with Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the former USSR Navy, by N. Belan; place and date not given: "The Navy Serves the Whole Fatherland"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The fate of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet is causing deep concern today and attracting the close attention of not just the peoples of the former USSR, but also of the world community. There is also the point that Ukraine's claims to the Black Sea Fleet are introducing serious destabilizing factors into the process of forming the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and its future collective, joint defense. That clearly is why Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the former USSR Navy, himself was the one to launch straight into our discussion.

[Chernavin] I consider that in the present situation the fate of the Armed Forces will not be decided by Kravchuk, Chernavin, or Shaposhnikov. Its fate must be decided at the highest level and solely by political means. Let the parliaments of the independent Commonwealth states have their say and decide whether the Armed Forces will be unified, joint Armed Forces or whether they will be fragmented on national lines. The fomenting of the situation surrounding the Army and Navy and the attempts of states to speed up the administering of their own oath to units and ships merely induces chaos, discord, and destabilization. It is no wonder that sensible people are already saying that the Army must not be trifled with in this way.

[Belan] But in Minsk, if we are talking about the strategic forces, an agreement has already been signed...

[Chernavin] Perfectly true. The need for joint command of them and the maintenance of unified control over nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction of the former Union was recognized. The meaning of the term "strategic forces" was also clearly defined.

You would think it clear that as far as the Navy is concerned, it forms part of the strategic forces. However, Ukraine, whose president signed the agreement, suddenly states: No, the Black Sea Fleet is ours. The idea that Ukraine is a great sea power is already being declared. Excuse me, but when was it a great sea power, since it has never had its own navy—this we know from history.

[Belan] But, Vladimir Nikolayevich, why does the Navy entirely belong to the strategic forces?

[Chernavin] First, the Navy possesses more than 35 percent of the strategic nuclear arms. Though admittedly, they all belong to the Northern and Pacific Fleets.

Second, from time immemorial the maritime sectors have been strategic. The war in the Persian Gulf convincingly showed the significance of the maritime sector: Iraq was blockaded from the sea, the air force and navy carried out the main, basic strikes from the sea, they effectively decided the outcome of the hostilities, and only when the resistance of the Iraqi Army had been finally crushed, did the ground troops move forward. This example graphically demonstrates that war today is different, it does not resemble previous ones, which began with soldiers crossing a border and starting to conquer territory and destroy the enemy.

But, if we are talking about the southwestern sector, from where will aircraft carriers and submarines reach Ukraine and Russia with missiles and planes? From the Mediterranean. In other words, to combat these strategic strikes, naval forces must be kept in the Mediterranean. This means the distant approaches. The near approaches are the Black Sea. So the Black Sea Fleet serves the interests of our whole country, that is to say, all the independent Commonwealth states.

[Belan] Vladimir Nikolayevich, clearly the conflict over the Black Sea Fleet arose because it has no strategic nuclear systems, the argument being that it does not therefore form part of the strategic forces.

[Chernavin] Yes, that precisely demonstrates the ignorance of certain politicians, because in the Black Sea, as distinct from the Baltic, there are tactical nuclear weapons carried aboard ships and planes.

[Belan] You have spoken about the Navy as a whole. But what exactly is the Black Sea Fleet?

[Chernavin] It is an operational-strategic formation of our Navy which is to protect and defend the CIS from a maritime strategic sector. That is the kind of maritime theater of military operations where no one, except the fleet, will solve the task.

[Belan] But what are the feelings of the Black Sea Fleet sailors?

[Chernavin] I will read you today's report on the Fleet personnel's morale, and it will answer your question. "Generally, there is a healthy atmosphere in the Black Sea Fleet," it says. But people have anxious and pessimistic moods. This is due to the hasty and ill-considered actions of the leadership of Ukraine regarding the Army as a whole and the Black Sea Fleet in particular. The attempts to seize the Black Sea Fleet by force and transfer it to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, contrary to the agreement signed in Minsk, are causing not just bewilderment, but indignation and resolute protest by Fleet personnel, the officers in particular"

[Belan] How do you regard Ukraine's wanting to have its own navy?

[Chernavin] Positively. I think that every state with access to the sea is entitled to have its own navy. Moreover, I have taken the initiative in this regard and have spoken with the Ukrainian defense minister and offered him my services and help in creating a navy for them. But first, I said, you have to determine what the Ukraine needs a navy for and what its tasks are. And I took the liberty to formulate the tasks. First, protection of the state from the sea—this is carried out by the border troops in all civilized countries. This involves a limited number of people, small coastal-operations ships, and so forth. Second, all countries with access to the sea are engaged in combating smuggling—Ukraine will also need to do this. Third, defending one's own interests in protecting the economic zone. Fourth, this simply involves covering the situation and assisting ships in distress in your zone of responsibility.

These are the tasks which I see and which Ukraine will ultimately come to tackle, however the situation develops. And you know, initially they agreed with me in principle. We even began considering what forces and resources to transfer to Ukraine. But then my interlocutors changed their opinion, did a 180-degree turn, as it were. What kind of approach is that?

I would therefore urge the Ukrainian leadership and Defense Ministry to heed closely these pieces of advice and examine the issue on the basis of common sense and the security interests of the whole Commonwealth, including Russia—after all, the Navy has always been Russian, as we know from history. I again offer to assign part of the Black Sea Fleet forces to carry out the aforementioned functions directly in Ukraine's interests, while those which resolve strategic tasks remain part of the joint strategic forces. That will be logical and, it seems to me, most correct.

Conflict at 'Decisive Phase'

LD0801212792 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A fight over whom the Black Sea Fleet belongs to runs high. According to competent military circles, after a statement by Admiral Kasatonov that the Black Sea Fleet will obey only the chief commander of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces and the chief naval commander, a conflict between Russia and Ukraine regarding the Armed Forces has reached a decisive phase. And it is not clear whose allegiance in particular servicemen of the Black Sea Fleet will swear to: Ukraine, Russia, or the CIS, the very existence of which depends to a large extent on resolving this issue.

[Unidentified correspondent] The fate of the Black Sea Fleet was in the center of attention. Ukraine regards it as its own and Russia, in its turn, does not want to give up any of the four fleets. President Leonid Kravchuk gives

the date before 20 January for swearing in the oath while Igor Kasatonov, the Fleet commander, states that he will only obey orders from the commander in chief of the CIS united armed forces. The admiral expressed his views on these and some other problems.

[Begin Kasatonov recording] I would like to say the following: There is no such thing as whether the Fleet refuses or not to take an oath. There is no such issue. The Fleet does not obey the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry. Probably, this is what Colonel General Morozov wants. Well, this is his right. The Fleet is not subordinate. Therefore what does it mean: to take the oath or not to take the oath?

On the other hand, you are right when you say that events develop, the CIS is not a state and therefore not a subject of any relations but in order to implement the processes you are talking about, stages are needed to do that. A transitional period is required.

I would like to say that, certainly, the Fleet has become a hostage of unsolved political problems. [end recording]

Deputy Commander Interviewed

LD0901114592 Moscow TRUD in Russian 9 Jan 92 p 4

[Interview with Colonel General B. Pyankov, deputy commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces, by V. Badurkin; place and date not given: "Major Maneuvers in a Mine Field"]

[Text] [Badurkin] Each day the editorial office receives phone calls from the families of soldiers and officers serving in Ukraine. They ask the same question: What is going on there, what will happen to our children?

Events in Ukraine, particularly how the republic's army is being formed, have attracted attention not only in our country but abroad, too. That is understandable: The political map of Europe could have a new state with a most powerful army (over 500,000 men) equipped with the most modern hardware. That would be a clear violation of the balance of military strength that has developed in the world.

So what is going on in Ukraine? My conversation with Colonel General B. Pyankov, leader of a group of military experts and deputy commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, who has just returned from Kiev, began with that question.

[Pyankov] To be honest, I do not know how to answer. It seemed that an objective process of forming national armies enshrined by the Minsk agreements had begun. But how? In breach of those same accords. Although initially it all seemed to be going normally. We met with Leonid Kravchuk and reached complete mutual understanding: First it is necessary to define military policy, its aims and tasks, elaborate a mechanism of social guarantees for those servicemen who are not going to take the Ukrainian oath, and resolve a great many economic, legal, and financial questions. Of course, all this will take time—at least six to eight weeks, I think.

Then suddenly, on 2 January, the tone of the discussions changed markedly and became harsh, even peremptory. Ukraine Defense Minister K. Morozov announced that the republic, without prior agreement, is taking all troops on its territory under its jurisdiction. Even though at that time we already had the text of the Minsk agreement, which clearly stated what precisely count as strategic forces. In Kiev they had decided to determine for themselves the composition of the forces to be taken under unified command. For some reason they excluded the Black Sea Fleet, the airborne divisions, two military air transport divisions, the 24th Airborne Army, and so forth...

The lack of a solution to this question and the absence of any social guarantees for officers and their families, to be honest, created dangerous "ferment" among the troops. People were not clear at all about what was happening.

[Badurkin] On television and in the press there have been reports that whole regiments are refusing to take the Ukraine's oath. What will happen to the people?

[Pyankov] We have no information on that at the moment. I would like to clarify matters here. It is mainly soldiers from the fall draft that are being sworn in at the moment. They are almost all Ukrainian citizens. It will be different when the process of swearing in officers begins. Servicemen from a single regiment cannot take different oaths.

As for people's fate, there are far more questions than answers here. For example, who is going to pay the pension of a Kazakh officer who retires from the Ukrainian army? What guarantees do citizens of other republics who have taken the Ukrainian oath have that they won't be "asked" to go home at some time in the future? What will happen to Ukrainian citizens serving in other regions of the CIS?

I do not know what guiding principles people in Kiev used when they adopted these unilateral and clearly ill-prepared decisions on transferring the subordination of troops.

[Badurkin] Historically it is the case that the bulk of the Union's troops were stationed along the border. That was in line with the doctrine and strategic tasks. It is no secret that Russia does not have all that many combat capable troops, mainly it has military colleges and equipment storage bases. Now it turns out that the Ukrainian army could be not only the strongest in the CIS but in Europe, too.

[Pyankov] Yes, the troop grouping in the Ukraine is colossal. Why does a republic which has declared that it has no foreign enemies need such an army? What tasks face the troops, what political aims are they going to carry out? In Kiev they gave one answer to all these questions: We will sort it out ourselves.

I am afraid that they will find it difficult. Think about it: The republic does not have a single military aviation plant to carry out repairs or produce spares. That means that within three to four months the planes will be grounded. It is the same situation with other hardware. Not to mention the Black Sea Fleet. It costs so much to keep it in fuel alone.

The organization of the supplies of all that the troops need is the most complex task. It is beyond the abilities of the fledgling Ukraine Defense Ministry. We proposed that while the republic structures are being formed we should use what already exists, at least for this year. After all, plants cannot be allowed to stop work and combat readiness must not be lost. The reply—outright rejection.

[Badurkin] Many observers fear that the military hardware which has been declared Ukrainian property may soon end up in the world arms market...

[Pyankov] That is absolutely impermissible. First, it belongs not just to Ukraine but to all the other CIS republics. Without their agreement no one can trade in weapons and hardware. Second, military exports are not like selling raw materials. For example, no one is going to buy planes without the corresponding backup—spares, technical servicing, and trained specialists. The world community will hardly remain indifferent to a massive sale of combat hardware.

[Badurkin] The fate of the Black Sea Fleet is one of the most sensitive issues.

[Pyankov] We understand that Ukraine as a naval power needs ships to protect its borders and combat smuggling and needs coastal units—marines, artillery...

But there is also the "big" Fleet—submarines and surface craft—on active service in the Mediterranean and other areas of the world's oceans. In other words—performing strategic tasks. Ukraine is not setting itself such tasks. In addition, under the Minsk agreement the fleet is regarded as a strategic force.

We suggested to our Ukrainian comrades that they take command of the naval units based at Izmail, Ochakov, Kerch, Yevpatoriya, and Feodosiya. At Donuzlav and Odessa there are headquarters complexes [kompleksy shtabnykh struktur] which could be used as the basis for the formation of a command center. These forces would be enough for Ukraine to meet its needs.

Unfortunately, we found no understanding in Kiev on this most important question either.

[Badurkin] Is there a way out of this situation?

[Pyankov] I think that there is. When the experts cannot agree the politicians must enter the dialogue. In my view, the Russian Federation, as legal successor to the Soviet Union, and the other sovereign states must decide through talks what belongs to the Ukrainian armed forces and what belongs to the common Strategic Forces. Only when the politicians sort everything out and sign the necessary documents can we, the military specialists, work out the least painful way of dividing things up.

[Badurkin] In the past few days, judging from President L. Kravchuk's address and Defense Minister Morozov's proposals, the Ukrainian leadership's position has changed somewhat.

[Pyankov] Let us pray this is so. If this is not another political maneuver but a genuine desire I think that all the questions can be resolved.

Possible Split Viewed

LD0801160992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1410 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Report by Vladimir Plotnikov from Sevastopol]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Ukraine, as you know, already regards the Black Sea Fleet as its own, while Russia does not want to yield to anyone any of the four fleets of the former Union. Meanwhile, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has already named the specific time-scales for swearing the oath, for sailors as well, before 20 January. The texts of the oath have also arrived onboard warships: one oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian people, the other to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States].[passage omitted]

Another question often put to the commander and to other senior commanders—another group of questions, rather—is that of the possible splitting up of the Fleet. Some ships, auxiliary and service vessels could be handed over to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense, but the fleet's combat capability must not suffer. You know, this is the sailors' sorest point, the reason why they serve, the reason why they improve their equipment and create these modern vessels. All of a sudden... [changes thought] well, and then if the sailors' qualifications decline because of this, then that would also mean a decline in the Fleet's prestige.

Nevertheless, the most important question of all in determining the destiny of the Fleet is the human factor. I think you will agree with this. The Black Sea Fleet sailors have always been proud of their international crews. Sailors of nearly 50 nationalities currently serve in Sevastopol, and fewer Ukrainians than Russians, in fact; and furthermore, there is a higher percentage of Russians than Ukrainians among the officers. If the Russian officers refuse to swear an oath of allegiance to Ukraine, and they have to go away or retire, who will then ensure the combat capability of the fleet? Who will take care of those who are retired, for they have families, after all? [passage omitted]

Morozov Accused of Ethics Violation

LD0801230692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The fate of the Black Sea Fleet is one of the most acute issues and the main cause of confrontation

between Russia and Ukraine. Here is the information that we have received from Kiev.

On 8 January a meeting with sailors of the Black Sea Fleet was held in the permanent commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for issues of defense and state security. All those who disagree with the opinion of Rear Admiral Igor Kasatonov, the Fleet commander, took part in the conversation with members of the commission. The meeting was held behind closed doors and that is why details of the conversation are not known.

Incidentally, on that very day Igor Kasatonov spoke at a news conference in Sevastopol. Despite the decisions of the Ukrainian parliament and a decree by President Leonid Kravchuk, he announced that the issue of taking an oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine by sailors of the Fleet is not on the agenda as the Fleet is not subordinate to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry.

Colonel General Konstantin Morozov is mistaken if he thinks that he commands the Black Sea Fleet. He accused the minister of violating officers' ethics, but at the same time he did not deny that Ukraine has the right to its own fleet and he is even ready to help to set it up.

Valentin Lemesh, deputy chairman of the permanent commission of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for issues of defense and state security categorically disagrees with the rear admiral. On 8 January he stated—I am quoting—that everything situated on the territory of Ukraine should be subordinate to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine and the president of Ukraine. The Black Sea Fleet is on the territory of Ukraine—not just the headquarters, but also the main bases—and it should be regarded as the armed forces of the Ukraine—the quotation ends.

Stage-by-Stage Transfer Proposed

LD0901062192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The naval command has sent its proposals to the Ukranian leadership on the stage-by-stage transfer of a number of task forces and vessels of the Black Sea Fleet to the Ukrainian navy in order to maintain operational readiness [operativniy pezhim], border patrols, the protection of the economic zone, and other tasks. The further process of working out the mechanism for the transfer depends on whom the legal successor of the Black Sea Fleet will be.

Hopes are placed on the meeting of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] leaders and the discussion of the creation of a joint Black Sea Fleet with the interests of all CIS members taken into consideration.

The naval press group notes that the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet continue to consider themselves part of the CIS Strategic Forces. The units of the Black Sea Fleet plan to take the oath of allegiance on 10 to 12 January on the basis of the unified text for all Commonwealth Armed Forces.

A meeting of officers will be held in Kiev today to protest the decision made by the Ukrainian Government on the necessity of swearing a new oath of allegiance. This meeting is being organized by the initiative group of the Kiev Higher Military Aviation and Engineering School. RIA was informed by those who represent the initiative group that the meeting will take place in front of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet building.

Further on Transfer

LD0801225392 Moscow TASS in English 2226 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—The former Soviet Navy commander has made a preliminary offer to the Ukrainian leadership to transfer a number of Black Sea naval units and ships to the Ukrainian navy, Soviet Navy press service told TASS.

The ships will mostly be used to guard the Ukrainian border, to protect the economic zone and to solve related tasks, the press service said.

The transition mechanism will largely depend on who will heir the Black Sea control, Soviet Navy press service said. [sentence as received]

In the meantime most officers and admirals are against a decision to swear an oath to serve Ukraine. Thousands of Russians protested against Ukrainian control of the former Soviet naval fleet in the Black Sea port of Sevastopol on Wednesday [8 January].

Ukrainian army commanders have no idea of how Fleet functions and how strategic and non-strategic forces interact, Russian Black Sea Fleet Commander in Chief Igor Kasatonov told a news conference in Sevastopol on Wednesday [8 January].

The Black Sea servicemen still consider themselves part of the Commonwealth strategic force and will swear an oath to the Commonwealth on January 10-12, Navy press service said.

Withdrawal 'Technically Impossible'

LD0901062892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] The withdrawal of the Navy of the former USSR from the Black Sea and its transfer to other bases is technically impossible at present. This is revealed in an interview by RIA with Captain Second Rank Valeriy Myasnikov, a staff member of the press center of the former USSR Defense Ministry.

According to Myasnikov, during the building of new vessels moorage is planned at the ports of destination and means of material and technical support are worked out. That is why the transfer of individual vessels, to say nothing of a whole fleet, to other bases would require a complete change in the infrastructure of the Navy.

As for the two heavy aircraft carriers being built in Nikolayev, according to Myasnikov they will be unequivocally withdrawn from the Black Sea, since it was originally planned that they were to be based with the Pacific and Northern Fleets.

Military Districts Consult

LD0801142292 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Report by Denis Gurinskiy on consultations in St. Petersburg among representatives of three military districts in Ukraine, the Leningrad military district, and the Baltic Fleet]

[Text] The consultations have so far dealt only with issues concerning the organization and manning of the Leningrad military district and the Baltic Fleet with servicemen who have not made themselves subordinate to Kiev. The question of the transportation of naval vessels from the Black Sea to the Baltic is still being studied, according to this source. Representatives of the command of the Baltic Fleet, however, regard that option as totally acceptable. In the meantime at least 500 servicemen from internal troop units arrived in the St. Petersburg region from the Ukraine last weekend in order to continue their service in units of the local military district. At the press center of Leningrad military district headquarters, however, they refused to confirm or deny this report for the Radio Rossii correspondent.

Meanwhile, Rear Admiral Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, has sent a personal message to the personnel of the Black Sea Naval Fleet calling upon the seamen to remain faithful to their previous oath. Shcherbakov's appeal, circulated by the press service of the St. Petersburg mayor's office, stresses that Kiev's claims that the subordination of the Black Sea Fleet be redesignated will, if implemented, remove the guarantees of reliable protection for Russia's southern maritime borders. In Shcherbakov's opinion the Ukrainianization of the Black Sea Fleet is unacceptable not only from the point of view of international law but also from the viewpoint of respect for the historical traditions of the Russian Navy.

The general mood of the Leningrad Military District toward Ukrainian and other attempts to take over the strategic forces of the Armed Forces of the former USSR is conveyed by the following document. The personnel of the intelligence directorate of the Leningrad Military District have issued a call to the peoples and parliaments of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. As SANKT PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI reports, the intelligence personnel have demanded that the Russian authorities put an end to the political games of individual state and public figures of the CIS who are cultivating the trend toward the complete collapse and undermining of the combat readiness of the CIS Armed Forces, and inflicting irreparable damage upon the defense capability of the Commonwealth states. The intelligence personnel also note that if encroachments upon the unity of the CIS Armed Forces are not neutralized, then the intelligence men of the Leningrad military district, and I quote, are still disciplined, organized, combat capable, and in a position themselves to defend the true interests of the peoples of the CIS. Denis Gurinskiy in St. Petersburg for the news service of Radio Rossii.

TASS Assesses Situation

LD0901040692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0125 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Amelin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—To whom will the Black Sea Fleet belong? Will it belong to Ukraine or Russia, or will remain under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth? The latest statements of the Ukrainian leadership show that it does not recognize Russia's rights on the Black Sea Fleet. It will also not belong to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] after it is stripped of all its strategic weapons. As for the "Ukrainization" of the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian leaders consider that this is in full accordance with the letter and spirit of the Minsk agreements.

Boris Yeltsin has another opinion. He underlined in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that the Black Sea Fleet is an indivisible part of the strategic forces of the CIS and that it must be under the joint command authorities of the Commonwealth, not an individual republic.

The command of the Black Sea Fleet has an analogous view. At the same time, it expresses its bewilderment at the speed with which Kiev intends to separate the strategic units of the fleet from the non-strategic ones. At the same time, it has become known from information distributed by the Navy press group that the command of the Navy, meeting the wishes of Ukrainian leadership, has made proposals on the stage by stage transfer of a number of task forces and vessels of the Black Sea Fleet to the Ukraine Navy in order to maintain operational readiness [operativniy pezhim], border patrols, the protection of the economic zone, maritime transport, and other tasks.

Immediate Withdrawal From Baltics 'Unrealistic'

PM0901144792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel Viktor Baranets: "Leave—Yes. Flee—No. The Army in the New Situation: Military Observers' Opinions"]

[Excerpts] The Baltic Council, which includes representatives from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, has demanded that all CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] troops be withdrawn immediately from the territory of the Baltic states. [passage omitted]

Such a categorical demand on the part of the Baltic Council to "immediately withdraw" troops from the Baltic states' territory clearly testifies to a direct attempt to be tougher in pushing them out of this area and an unwillingness to understand the extremely complex situation in which the servicemen from the Northwestern Group have found themselves. Such a step can be assessed as extremely unfriendly and discourteous, particularly since the necessary political decisions affecting the sides' interests have not yet been adopted.

"It is unrealistic to demand the immediate withdrawal of our units from the Baltic area," Colonel General V. Mironov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Troops, said. "We need at least five years to do this, at best. We cannot pack hundreds of thousands of people off by train to unknown destinations. We will withdraw the troops; that is our aim; but we will not organize their flight just because people with adventurist intentions want this. And here we need clearly established agreements between the leaders of the CIS and the Baltic Council on the whole complex of problems, and the sides need clear mutual commitments."

As for the demands not to sent new recruits here, that appeal may place those who are currently performing their service in the Baltic states in an even more difficult position. The majority of them are already performing their service with a treble load on their shoulders, since the staffing levels in the subunits are rapidly falling.

Now something about the request to leave the Northwestern Group of Troops weapons, hardware, and installations to the Baltic states' defensive forces. There is no doubt that certain positive decisions will be adopted on the part of the CIS Armed Forces Main Command. But one thing is impossible to understand: How will the nature and aims of defensive forces tie up with such a quantity of weapons and hardware? And indeed how will their neighboring states react to the fact that the Baltic countries, which are very modest as regards territory, will be "superarmed"?

Future of Armed Forces Widely Discussed

Army 'Simply Ownerless'

LD0701200292 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1620 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Studio discussion program entitled "The Army: Ridiculous or Tragic?" featuring Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov; General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin, adviser to Russia's minister of foreign affairs; and Sergey Mikhaylovich Rogov, deputy director of the U.S and Canada Institute; hosted by Genrikh Borovik; in Moscow on 4 January—recorded]

[Text] [Borovik] The short conversation which we want to present now for your attention was recorded on 4 January and was just a part of a long discussion intended for another big program. However, the topic of this conversation concerns the subject of the Army of the old Soviet Union, which is worrying us all very much now. Therefore, bearing in mind that events are changing with every passing day, we have decided not to put it off and to show you this discussion today.

Taking part in it are: Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, who has held the posts of chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces and chief of staff of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces; General Geliy Viktorovich Batenin, adviser to Russia's minister of foreign affairs; and Sergey Mikhaylovich Rogov, deputy director of the U.S. and Canada Institute.

We have called this part of the discussion, "The Army: Ridiculous or Tragic?"

What is happening to the Army now? Let us begin perhaps with legal matters, the question of the oath, of which army one serves, of choice, and so on. Go ahead, I will not lay down a batting order. We do things on a completely voluntary basis here, just as in the matter of which army one serves. Vladimir Nikolayevich, you go first.

[Lobov] But you said you would not lay down a batting order.

[Borovik] But democracy needs order.

[Lobov] Overall, I think so. Evidently, it does need that order, all the same. In general, you are right, of course, that the army is now in a very ridiculous position, to put it bluntly. The essence of this position is that the army does not know to whom it is subordinate today, whom it is serving, effectively, and for whom it is fulfilling its military duty. We are ourselves saying that a concept such as the Soviet Union has already disappeared, a concept such as the Soviet people has also disappeared, and all laws and obligations which the Army accepted before the Soviet people and the Soviet Union as such have also disappeared, in effect. Thus, what is the Army itself left with?

[Borovik] Do you mean, in other words, that the Army is now simply ownerless, at the moment that we are recording this, 4 January?

[Lobov] That's right. I believe that the Army has now been left to its own devices—specifically, to its own devices—because there is no legal person to whom the Army is responsible today. Look, I want, all the same, to add to this that the union of independent states has formed a council ... [voice, off-screen: The Commonwealth] Yes, the Commonwealth, it has formed a Council of Heads of State, and the Council of Heads of State has declared that it, the council, is not a legal person and that it cannot take any decisions. Thus, if we say that the Army is subordinate to that council or to that union, we simply do not have the right to say that, and we do not have the right even to think it.

[Borovik] Geliy Viktorovich, is there a way out of the situation here, bearing in mind that Russia is declaring itself the legal successor to the Soviet Union?

[Batenin] Of course, there are ways out of any situation. There is always some correct way out, even from a dead end. But in this case, I agree, of course. In the present period, the structure of our Army as an entity is up in the air. Incidentally, I want to slightly disagree here with Vladimir Nikolayevich, in the sense that there are many laying claim to the Army. The claims are being made, in principle, by the independent states which have formed on the territory of this military-strategic space, as we call it.

[Borovik] Do they have adequate grounds for their claim?

[Batenin] They are also laying claim on the basis of legal succession. By the way, international practice permits this: The fragments left by the collapse of a state, whether an empire or some other state, are all equally successors to that old state formation from which they have emerged.

But the point is that the Army is such a complicated, dangerous, explosive mechanism and it provides reliable service only when it has a structure of command which is strictly subordinated and which is defined by juridicial and international legal acts.

[Borovik] That is, when Vladimir Nikolayevich says that it is in a laughable position, it is a quite tragic position for all of us.

[Batenin] I did not say it was a laughable position. I say that the position of the Army was tragic. It now appears that in general we have been able, of course, to resolve a number of questions—after Alma-Ata and Minsk—about unity of control, and have recorded with some brush strokes the unified nature of our Armed Forces or of certain components which are connected with strategy. These are under joint command. But we did not determine the status of this commander in chief, nor his subordination. It is not clear which state or commonwealth of states he serves. Excuse me, if it is the commonwealth of states, then it should have a very precise political superstructure, a structure, which many of the members of this Commonwealth do not want.

[Borovik] But we have already agreed, for example, Sergey Mikhaylovich, that strategic nuclear weapons will be transferred entirely to Russia, alone.

[Rogov] This is not quite the case, since from the documents it is not clear who has the right of ownership of nuclear weapons. They speak about unified control. From the context of these documents one can understand that, say, as a result of the destruction of the nuclear weapons in the Ukraine and Belarus and, possibly, in the future in Kazakhstan, of the four states with strategic nuclear weapons on their territory today, Russia will remain the only one possessing these weapons. But this question has not been completely settled. And, in my view, three possible variants are now arising with regard to the future of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The first variant is for the Armed Forces to be divided up, divided in a forced and harsh way, as one might say. At the same time, it is not clear how the Armed Forces will be divided up; according to the principle that each possesses what is on its territory, or according to the size of the gross national product, according to size of population, according to size of territory. No criteria have yet been established here, and in my view this creates the very serious danger that the whole development of events may go out of control.

The second variant is if the Commonwealth of Independent States creates a defense alliance—or let us call it a defense commonwealth, that is something like a Soviet NATO—and if, within the framework of this defense commonwealth, there is created a united structure of armed forces which will include strategic and all other nuclear weapons.

[Borovik] If you are drawing parallels, why not draw a parallel with the Warsaw Pact?

[Rogov] One can draw this parallel, too.

[Borovik] Perhaps you do not want to draw a parallel with an organization that does not exist.

[Batenin] There is the political aspect...

[Rogov, interrupting] I think that in the Warsaw Pact there was no real equality among the participants in that defense alliance. I do not know, perhaps Vladimir Nikolayevich will not agree with me but, of course, the Soviet Union played the dominant role. In the Commonwealth of Independent States, if a defense alliance is created then, of course, it should be built on the principles of equality. At the same time, as well as united armed forces...

[Borovik] Sergey Mikhaylovich, excuse me, but NATO also has a dominant state.

[Rogov] Of course, the contribution made to the defense alliance by, say, the United States and by Luxembourg are totally different, but from the juridicial point of view they are equal participants.

[Borovik] We will return to that question, but you mentioned the question of the oath which I spoke about right at the start and which we have somehow missed out during our conversation. So, the question of the oath, from the juridical point of view...

[Lobov] It is not for nothing that I say, you know, that the Army is in a tragic situation, as it were and it is, indeed, in a situation that is laughable. After all, we must surely bear in mind, all the same, that the Army still exists and that soldiers and officers are still in this Army, they exist and they serve there and they swore an oath of allegiance to the Union. What sort of an oath? They

swore: I, a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, take an oath and solemnly swear - and currently it is some four million people who swore this oath of allegiance and it is only in the Armed Forces, only in the Soviet Army, to be more precise. And such people are also in the Internal Troops; such people are, evidently, in what remains of the Committee for State Security, the Border Troops—that is to say, we must not dismiss such an organization, a most powerful organization which took the oath of allegiance and which swore faithfully to serve a certain state system.

[Borovik] But I had occasion to hear an argument to the effect that, say, one of the states, I mean belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States, is a part of the state to which people swore allegiance and recognized the necessity of defending it.

[Lobov] This is an argument which belongs to the past and which, I think, was advanced by the chief of staff of the Kiev Military District.

[Borovik] Perfectly true, yes.

[Lobov] We are here talking of something else, Genrikh Avyezerovich. The point is not that [words indistinct] such state. Such half-hearted decisions must not be taken, that is what the conversation is all about. If wise people sat at the negotiating table in Minsk, if they decided to set up this union of independent states, the question of the Armed Forces could have been resolved straight away. They meet in Alma-Ata for the second time and again, no decisions are taken on the Armed Forces. They meet for the third time in Minsk—and again no decisions are taken affecting the Armed Forces. However, we say ourselves that we are restructuring ourselves, new state structures and new, independent and sovereign states are coming into being—but the Army has remained within the same terms of reference in which it found itself for more than 70 years. It is my view that under no circumstances should a body like the Soviet Armed Forces be treated with such lack of respect.

[Borovik] Vladimir Nikolayevich, do you not think—this question is for everyone—do you not think that this delay in resolving this question, one of the most important questions, is caused not by a disparaging attitude, but simply by the fact that it is, possibly, the most difficult question. The Army has become, if you like, a prestigious issue and measure of statehood and independence, something that is, perhaps, not always correct.

[Batenin] Well, if you will allow me. I, too, can even endorse this view and, incidentally, take issue a bit with what Sergey Mikhaylovich had to say. I mean—well, this variant. I, too, worked with him a great deal and, generally, on some sort of concept of a defensive alliance. Why NATO and not the Warsaw Pact? This, too, is clear. It is because NATO has a huge number of political structures which, all in all, release the Army from the burden of being subordinated to purely militarist mood of a certain category of people, one can say people with similar genetic make-up, people who belong to a certain stratum, one can say—well, the military-political complex. So. From the point of view, I mean, of creating now, at this time, a defensive structure of the type of NATO, even a military-political organization, it is necessary precisely to set it up the way NATO was set up. They proceeded from their own armed forces, is that not right? That is to say, the kind of situation that has taken shape did not exist as far as they were concerned and they made their own armed forces available. Incidentally, let us now [word indistinct] edge a bit closer to reality.

After all, what is now taking place? Judging by Minsk, two agreements concerned the Armed Forces. Whether they were bad, or whether they were good, they did concern the Armed Forces. This means that a process is underway—a process of nationalizing the Army. That is to say, the Army is coming into being as part of a sovereign state. Those that have no wish to do so will not set up their own army. The subsequent, next step is something Sergey Mikhaylovich and Vladimir Nikolayevich were talking about here. As for the oath of allegiance, I mean now, of course and I know that the Defense Ministry had plans and it was proposed and it was not with an empty briefcase that Marshal Shaposhnikov went to Minsk. He had both a concept, so to say, and proposals to the effect that we should not cut a living body, as we have now called it; namely, it is people who are the driving force in the Army. All that is iron, and nuclear weapons are a dangerous iron, but it is nothing more and nothing less that iron.

But, as for the people in the Army: They must not be divided and split up, they must not be deprived of their own motherland, I mean even a text of the military oath of allegiance was proposed, a text that would have made it possible for a soldier who is a Georgian, Armenian, Ukrainian, Russian who is on somebody else's territory and even in somebody else's armed forces of, it would seem, another state to fulfill this oath of allegiance to his own people he deems essential to represent by serving in these Armed Forces.

[Lobov] Instead of arguing, one can, of course, imagine things here, all the same, is that not right? So, let us say that I, as a serviceman, must serve in Ukraine and when taking the oath, swear allegiance to my people of Kazakhstan, or whatever. I swear to my people—and I, a representative of Kazakhstan, or a representative of Russia, or a representative of Moldova.

[Batenin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, all this, you know, when we become detached from reality, all this is indeed so. Well, now we have all gone our separate ways. But, after all, we are trying, with more or less success, postponing things for two months, with some things not coming out right, but, all the same, we are trying to unite. Look: We did reach agreement on united armed forces; we did reach agreement on single control over nuclear arms. A decision on general purpose forces is being

arrived at somewhere, and it will come in two months [sily obshchego naznacheniya]. Things do not come out right all at once.

[Rogov] Geliy Viktorovich, you have gone a bit too far: There is no agreement on united armed forces. It is, in my view, here that the problem arises: A proportion of the Armed Forces found itself under the umbrella of the strategic forces and an agreement on these was concluded in Minsk, while a proportion of the Armed Forces has found itself outside this umbrella. That is to say, there is a complete lack of understanding in the Armed Forces themselves. Moreover, as military specialists, you are well aware that one cannot single out just the strategic component from the Armed Forces and, as it were, divide up the entire conventional forces among the states.

[Lobov] For some reason we are being forgetful. We talk of things being removed bit by bit, of divisions becoming blurred, you know. But, after all, none of this is so. We must recall what decision was adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, the last congress. Let me quote two paragraphs of this decision verbatim to you. The second paragraph states [indistinct interruption], it was the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, and it is very interesting, for this is what it stated: That each republic is a sovereign and independent state and that it, itself, determines its attitude toward the union treaty and the Union as a whole. So, if we take this formula, then what is taking place right now, incidentally, has been determined there: That each republic, even Ukraine, being a sovereign and independent state, itself determines its attitude to everything that is taking place, and this includes the Armed Forces. Point number four of this decision states that republics should conclude an agreement on collective security and defense with single armed forces and single leadership of the strategic nuclear forces being retained. Well, this is literally what is stated there.

Now let us ponder a bit on what is taking place. What is taking place is exactly what was stated there, but this process is extremely slow. If a republic determines itself and there are armed forces on its territory and they are also on the territory of our Russia, yes or no, this means one must make one's position known right now, one must make one's position known without delay. It is necessary to make one's position known and to state that the armed forces on the territory of each republic belong to this republic, and only then can one talk of unification: Will a republic make part of its forces available to the united forces, or not, for this decision will belong to the republic itself. That is to say, we have here a good conversation topic.

[Batenin] A good conversation topic, but the logic of simply human approach says that one should not fight and divide things up. That is to say, the process of separation could have taken an altogether different course, without affecting the material and technical base of this division, without affecting the people; that is to say, to become separated somewhere on a political level without cutting up these armed forces and making the forces and resources that will serve this commonwealth subordinate to united command. This was possible, but the process overtook us.

[Borovik] Geliy Viktorovich, I beg your pardon, but, in the first place, the process took a different course but, incidentally, Vladimir Nikolayevich is indeed right about the line charted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It flies in the face of common sense. We should have thought at that Congress of People's Deputies, it would not have been a bad thing, either. Well, one question. You say that there are elements that serve the whole of the commonwealth, say the Border Troops which, if I am not mistaken, are, according to the Minsk agreement, some sort of, in my view, a single entity, as it were.

[Batenin] They are at least trying.

[Borovik] They are trying, yes.

Well, only yesterday, there were reports in a newspaper about those border units which are located where Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Iran meet and where, as you know, the border is virtually open. They do not know what state they are defending. No one is supplying them with foodstuffs. They are, so to speak, in a laughable position or a tragic position.

[Batenin] This the whole tragedy that we are talking about here. This is due to decisions being taken either too slowly or too rapidly, as is happening in Ukraine. You mention the Border Troops but it is not just the Border Troops. I have heard of cases where whole units, subunits of troops, for example, the country's anti-aircraft defense, were left without an owner, that is, without material and technical supplies. It is all the result of this collapse. This collapse must be stabilized. It should be taken in hand.

[Borovik] The collapse should not be stabilized; it is necessary to stabilize [laughs]...

[Batenin] I agree...

[Borovik] The collapse must be halted.

[Batenin] It must be stopped.

[Lobov] What collapse do you want to halt? It is not clear. The collapse of the Army or the collapse ...

[Batenin, interrupting] The collapse of the Army, of the Armed Forces because...

[Lobov, interrupting] But how can it be otherwise if, on the territory of the former Soviet Union, over 11 independent states have been formed? How can independent states tolerate on their territory armed forces belonging to who knows whom?

[Batenin] But one way or another...

[Borovik, interrupting] They already tolerate them. And what about NATO?

[Lobov] No, everything grew up gradually there. Therefore, it is necessary, first of all, as we say, to make a good job of splitting up. A republic exists, it is an independent state. Whatever there is on the territory of that republic should all be handed over to the republic. Here, take it, Comrade Republic. Look and see what you can contribute to help us unite. Perhaps you will give some of your ships, perhaps you will give some of your ground forces and perhaps you will give some of your air defense forces. It is necessary to sort this matter out. But at present neither one thing nor the other is happening.

[Borovik] I would like to ask a question on air defense. Perhaps it is rather down to earth and I cross my fingers in advance to stop this from happening. But let us imagine one of our independent states, which is a member of the Commonwealth and is on the borders of this Commonwealth; and across this state flies, well I don't know, perhaps a missile, perhaps an aircraft carrying something unpleasant, heading for some, say Russian, city. In this case, this state which is on the border is a transit territory. What about the air defenses here? What will they do? Will they say this is nothing to do with them, or it is something to do with them? Will this be resolved by a treaty only after...

[Batenin] No, this has already been resolved. That is, strategic defense, air defense, including units of the directorate of the commander of space troops, they are included under the common, the united command, that is, they are strategic and are included in the Strategic Armed Forces.

[Rogov] I totally agree with you. It is necessary to acknowledge the reality that independent states have appeared in place of the Union. But, unfortunately, the idea of setting up collective security of the independent states has not been implemented. Moreover, at the Minsk conference the maximum that they managed to achieve was an agreement on the united strategic forces, but this is not at all equivalent to a treaty on mutual security.

[Batenin] This question is very close to your question: There is an approaching aircraft. There is a united air defense system. It exists and it has not been dispersed. But no one will take a decision about this aircraft, with the exception of the supreme commander.

[Borovik] I absolutely agree that it is necessary to resolve the question as quickly as possible. We have split up and, if we can manage it, let us unite. Because, as far as I understand it, and you know this much better than I do, this division is destroying the command structures, it is destroying the information processing system, and is destroying very many links without which, as you were saying, who will take the decisions?

[Rogov] I read a press report yesterday—I don't know if it is true or not—that a decision has been taken in Moldova, which has already virtually nationalized the Border Troops on its territory, that only those officers who have housing in Moldova or are married to a Moldovan may remain in the Border Troops. This means that we are already quietly moving close to the criterion of people's ethnic origin, and we shall be determining our attitude to a serviceman by the principle of what percentage he has of what kind of blood. I think this is the most terrible road which can lead our society in any of the independent states [sentence as heard]. The ideal version is that it is better, of course, to sever relations and then to unite. But we are hardly going to embark on the same road again—"We shall destroy the whole old world to its foundations" [quote from the Internationale], so to speak—and then create that ideal version.

[Lobov] Fine. We are facing this fact. Ukraine made a declaration, and yesterday all troops deployed on Ukrainian territory took an oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people ...

[Borovik] Three districts.

[Lobov] Yes, three districts.

[Batenin] But it did not go completely smoothly.

[Lobov] What a difference [words indistinct as Lobov and Batenin try to speak simultaneously]. Of course, we cannot now persuade the heads of state who are taking part in these negotiations or did take part in Minsk, and their next meeting will be in Moscow, but nevertheless, as people gathered here, we can say that there must be no delay in this matter. The Army must not be kept in the state in which it is at present.

[Borovik] Like a cocked gun.

[Lobov] Precisely. The most resolute decisions must be taken, let us put it like that. Since Ukraine has made the declaration, and I think Azerbaijan has also declared that armed forces are being established and that everything on the territory of Azerbaijan ...

[Borovik, interrupting] You are saying that Russia should declare ...

[Lobov] That Russia should declare that Armed Forces [changes thought] they are 80 percent of our whole potential. Then every issue will fall into place, you see. Then it will be clear: Ukrainians in Ukraine, the armed forces in Belarus will be Belarussian, those in Kazakhstan will be Kazakhstan's, and the heads of state will come to Moscow.

[Borovik] When they will talk about cooperation.

[Lobov] Of course. But the military men will know what they have to do. They will know how to fulfill their task, without separating, you understand, for all the same, the purpose or, more precisely, the command exists, the command system. It will exist until a certain moment, let us say.

[Batenin] And we must not destroy the command system. Otherwise the critical moment, the destruction of the command system, will come.

[Borovik] That is now a big [changes thought] I do not [word indistinct], I do not know state secrets ... [words indistinct as all participants try to speak simultaneously]

[Rogov] Let us return for a second ...

[Lobov, interrupting] Yesterday I received this news. Of course, I do not believe this report, but I can express the supposition that there could be such a report, that yesterday [word indistinct] one of the republics [word indistinct] telephoned and said: We will now switch off all communications with Moscow, high frequencies and others, everything, and then the armed forces ...

[Rogov, interrupting] That is the situation which arose in Yugoslavia when Yugoslav Army base compounds on the territory of Croatia were blockaded, and we know where that led.

[Borovik] You can believe it or not, but theoretically such a situation is possible, and it must be borne in mind, of course.

[Rogov] In this connection, I want to return to the point that each republic must take a decision regarding the armed forces on its territory. I also think that Russia will take that path, although I do not consider that path ideal, if there is a sudden division of the Armed Forces.

[Batenin] Yes. Yesterday we considered that unacceptable.

[Rogov] Evidently, we will not manage to avoid the establishment of Russian armed forces. I feel that such a step can be taken only within the framework of a parallel search for the creation of unified structures. Otherwise, I think that the problems that will emerge will only complete the disintegration of the Armed Forces.

[Batenin] Undoubtedly. Of course, this does not gainsay what we are concerned with now, and I know, so to speak, yours and Vladimir Nikolayevich's hopes, ideas and plans, what he wants to help. This is really so and it stems from this situation. Of course, it is necessary to create in parallel precisely those structures which would be in accord with a future defense alliance. Call it a treaty on collective security or a treaty on joint defense, there are many variants.

[Lobov] I consider that if our words today were to reach the heads of states, then we could make a recommendation from all three of us or, with you [gestures toward Borovik] from all four, and say: Dear comrades, or friends, immediately, without delay, all of you sit down at the negotiating table to discuss just one question, the military question, and resolve it, decide what is to be done with the Armed Forces, what is to be done with the single strategic defense space, what is to be done with our missiles, what is to be done with the Fleets, and what is to be done with nuclear weapons. Do not delay. It is necessary to take decisions. These decisions exist and they can be found.

[Borovik] Thank you. I should like once again to thank you all, Vladimir Nikolayevich, Geliy Viktorovich, Sergey Mikhaylovich. I hope that the message which we wished to formulate within this broadcast we have formulated for those addressees for whom it was intended. Thank you.

Lobov Interviewed

PM0701111392 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Jan 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Army General V. Lobov by N. Belan; place and date not given: "The Fate of Our Security"]

[Text] When I was visiting a troop unit a little while ago, I attended a meeting. They were summing up the results of the training year. As is customary, they were giving incentives to the front-rankers. A soldier came out onto the stage, the commander presented him with a leave document, and the lucky guy stood to attention, his chest puffed up.

"I serve..." he began, then stopped short.

I can remember his perplexed look. According to the regulations, he was supposed to respond: "I serve the Soviet Union," but the Union did not exist. You could not say CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] either, because the Commonwealth is not a state. And you cannot serve a single economic or military-strategic area, after all, since time immemorial the Russian soldier's strength has been his loyalty to the motherland, to the homeland to which he swore allegiance. But here too there is confusion: He swore allegiance to a socialist homeland, but socialism has now been abolished.

The soldier muttered something unintelligible and sidled apologetically offstage in embarrassment. As I watched him I could not help thinking of the sources of the protracted uncertainty in which our Armed Forces find themselves. What are they to be like—that is the main question which neither the Alma-Ata nor Minsk meetings have yet fully and comprehensively answered. Although the Minsk conference was a step forward, of course. An agreement on strategic forces was signed—these will be under joint [obyedinennyy] command—and unified control over nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction will be retained.

As for conventional forces, the only thing that is now clear here is that nothing is clear. The sides agreed to examine and resolve together with Armed Forces Commander in Chief Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov within a two-month period the question of the procedure for controlling general-purpose forces while taking into account the national legislation of the Commonwealth states, and also the question of the sequence for the exercise by the Commonwealth states of the right to

create their own armed forces. As from 3 January 1992, in the case of the Ukraine. And it has begun exercising this right. So what now, is it the turn of Moldova and Azerbaijan, which have stated that they are setting up their own armies? And how is the Navy to be divided up—the question of the fate of the Black Sea Fleet is arising today, and tomorrow people will perhaps begin to talk about the Caspian Flotilla.

There is a multitude of questions. So a tricky task faces Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov over these two months. Today it is difficult to guess what model of military cooperation the CIS members will opt for, but commentators, both our own and foreign, are speaking increasingly often of a "Soviet NATO" and Joint Armed Forces modeled on the North Atlantic bloc or the Warsaw Pact.

"This idea is not new, I reported on the JAF—Joint Armed Forces—concept, as one option for the reform of the Army and Navy, to a USSR Defense Ministry Collegium session back in August 1991, when I was chief of General Staff," Army General V. Lobov said.

I had approached Vladimir Nikolayevich as a doctor of military sciences, professor, and author and leader of many scientific works, including works on problems of military reform. He has been studying these for the last five or six years.

"So when Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov said to me: Right, let's hear the existing options for reform at a collegium session—I was ready for the discussion," Army General Lobov continued. "Four options for reform of the Armed Forces were submitted: three elaborated together with me by a group of General Staff officers and generals, and the defense minister's option. One of our concepts was the creation of Joint Armed Forces."

[Belan] What was the reaction to it?

[Lobov] The reaction was extremely clear. As I was reporting on this option, two people actually walked out of the hall... They could take no notice of me, but it was impossible to ignore the processes that had already begun in the country. You see, as chief of the General Staff I was obliged to consider possible options for the development of the situation, whether people liked this or not. Because I had just one task: to preserve powerful, viable Armed Forces. What did I proceed from in formulating the Joint Armed Forces option? By resolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies the republics had received independence and sovereignty and were going to conclude an agreement among themselves on collective defense, with unified Armed Forces and unified leadership of strategic forces.

Even then it was clear that the future Commonwealth of states would set up its own supreme organ—a Council of Heads of State, and also a Council of Heads of Government (I am using today's terminology). In addition, I thought that the parliaments of the former republics would form something like a congress or assembly as a supreme organ, delegating their parliamentarians to it. The Council of Heads of State together with the assembly would appoint the Joint Armed Forces commander in chief and the chief of the Joint Staff and lead the Armed Forces, including the nuclear forces. The Joint Armed Forces commander in chief would have permanent deputies from each of the CIS members. Under him there would be a collective (consultative) organ at the level of defense ministers of the CIS independent states.

[Belan] What is collective defense like in your version?

[Lobov] Each independent state has its own military doctrine and delegates part of it to the so-called upper, common doctrine. It itself determines its attitude toward the military budget, toward the manning of the Armed Forces and their organizational development, and toward what military formations and facilities ought to be on its territory, and also what proportion of its own forces, or even all, it delegates to the Joint Command. That is, while strategic armed forces would be under unified command, the independent state itself would have the right to decide about conventional forces: It could either lead them autonomously, or transfer them (all or part) to the unified command of the Armed Forces.

In precisely the same way the single military-strategic area would also be formed not from above, but from below, and powers would be delegated by the CIS members.

[Belan] What about the possible temptation to bear as little as possible of the material costs, on the grounds that you would be defended just the same in the event of danger?

[Lobov] No, everything should be done on a quota basis. We even worked out the quotas in late October. We took into account the territory of each independent state, the population, the GNP, and many other parameters. This is very interesting experience—in the Union there had never been anything like what we did.

[Belan] Under your scenario, could Russia have its own army?

[Lobov] Why not!

[Belan] There is the very important question of military science and training military cadres: How is it proposed to resolve that?

[Lobov] It so happens that all the main academies are in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Accordingly, the scientific and teaching cadres and the training infrastructure are also concentrated there. So what are we supposed to do, tear all this into 11 or more parts? I think that collective defense also means the joint training of cadres. The same goes for military science: It must work for the sake of the entire Commonwealth.

[Belan] What about nuclear test ranges?

[Lobov] If these weapons are going to exist, they must be tested. Even for "maturity." So there must be agreements as to where to hold these tests. We must agree on quotas for each state, including compensation for damage to the environment. That is what I think, although the best, ideal option would be to get rid of weapons of mass destruction.

[Belan] I have seen the outlines, scientific studies, and feasibility studies of your concept—a huge work that you can scarcely explain in popular terms. Could you tell me to what extent you utilized NATO experience?

[Lobov] We used only the most advanced, modern experience. After all, we too have more than enough experience of our own, I am referring to the Warsaw Pact Organization—I was chief of staff of its Joint Armed Forces until the Organization was disbanded in early 1991.

[Belan] What are the most important lessons of this experience?

[Lobov] First: The Political Consultative Committee lacked a permanent coordinating organ, and as a result even the most superb decisions and ideas often came to nothing. And second: The Joint Command had no liaison with the parliaments of the Warsaw Pact member states. As a result there was a lack of communication with the people, legislative organs, and so forth. Our model does not merely take these lessons into account, to some extent it is actually based on them.

[Belan] How would you see your own place in this model?

[Lobov] I have been in the Army since 1954 and I have never thought either about ranks or about posts. I have worked as hard as I could, that's all. There was no "hairy" paw [pulling strings] either—I come from a remote Bashkir village, from a family of collective farm members. Even now I am concerned not about posts, but about the cause. I will help and work however I can, for it is not enough to define the future of the Armed Forces and the model and concept for them, it will also be necessary to work out a whole mass of structural matters, control, and so forth. I think my knowledge and my experience could come in handy here.

[Belan] Has your mysterious dismissal from the post of chief of the General Staff left you a broken man?

[Lobov] I was dismissed from posts four times in 1991. In April from the post of chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces because the Warsaw Pact had ceased to exist. But I was left with the post of first deputy chief of the General Staff. Then I was dismissed from that—I still do not understand the reasons. I was appointed chief of the M.V. Frunze Military Academy. In August, after the putsch, I learned from a television report that the USSR State Council had appointed me chief of the General Staff.

[Belan] So no one spoke to you beforehand?

[Lobov] No one. After the television report Shaposhnikov called and said: Come and see me. Where, I asked. I have been appointed defense minister, you have been appointed chief of the General Staff. I began working, one day passed, then another, and only on the fourth day did M. Gorbachev call me... To this day I do not know what processes propelled me into that post, and then just as unexpectedly...

[Belan] A lot has been written about this, it has mostly been conjecture. What actually happened?

[Lobov] I repeat: I don't know. "Palace" plots and intrigues are not my strong suit. I am accustomed to work, and I do not know about this. Anyhow, now is not the time to delve in the past and cast aspersions on anyone. There is plenty of work to be done.

[Belan] I have heard assessments of the Minsk conference and the documents on military questions adopted there—these opinions have often been diametrically opposed. What is your view, Vladimir Nikolayevich?

[Lobov] It would be unfair to oversimplify the prevailing situation. But at the same time you cannot sow confusion, uncertainty, and feelings of hopelessness about it. It is no accident that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin described the question of the Armed Forces as "the most complex" question.

'Extreme Care' Needed

PM0801115792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Report by A. Gerasimov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Gerasimov] The organizational and economic differences which emerged between the former Soviet republics during the recent Minsk meeting are child's play compared to the problems involved in the division of the Soviet Army, which got underway on the eve of the New Year. The two agreements signed by the leaders of states located on the territory of the Soviet Union on the Armed Forces, Border Troops, and Strategic Forces are more for ceremonial and descriptive effect than anything else. Moreover, on reading these documents you get the impression that they relate to the division of some kind of plant or factory, and not living brothers-in-arms. Whether or not the USSR Defense Ministry still exists is difficult to say. No official directives have been pinned to the bulletin boards in these military buildings—but they never were posted there. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry has begun to work actively. Plans to make the Army swear an oath of loyalty to the yellow and blue flag, according to the wishes of those taking it, could lead to the mass demobilization of conscripted personnel and the emigration of the officer corps across the country. Today, 44.5 percent of those serving in Ukraine are Russians, 40.3 percent are Ukrainians, and 15 percent

are representatives of other peoples of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Unwillingness to defend the Ukrainian state could lead to the collapse of military divisions and a loss of control over weapons arsenals. In the Caucasus at the moment people are being killed by Soviet weapons. They will not be any fewer in number after the upcoming reforms. Which of the former republics will receive the troops being withdrawn from Germany? Where will units stationed in the Baltic region go? Marshal Shaposhnikov is just finishing a tour of republics wishing to set up their own armies. Its results should produce a package of documents consolidating military mutual relations. Already today, Moldova and Azerbaijan are refusing to finance the strategic forces, and Uzbekistan and the Caucasian republics are setting up their own armed formations. Will Belarus buy diesel fuel from Russia for its tanks at world prices? Will the Moldovans sell off their antiaircraft guns? Will their neighbors settle interethnic relations by means of the former Soviet Army's military power? There are more questions than answers. But it is quite clear that an organ as sensitive and powerful as a 3.5 million-man army should be handled with extreme care and respect.

Republican Forces Considered

PM0901110192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Single Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Urban: "Soldier Should Give Oath of Loyalty to the People and Politicians to Common Sense"]

[Text] The as yet (?) unified army, anxiously awaiting its fate after the abolition of the USSR, is increasingly shrugging its shoulders: What will the over-hasty politicians throw out this time? After all, the ink had not had time to dry on the Minsk agreements signed 30 December by the heads of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states before the first crisis erupted in the still unconsolidated commonwealth. Our correspondents' reports from Ukraine and other CIS states in my view show sufficiently eloquently where haste in creating republican armed forces can lead.

I recall that in Minsk the sides reached the following conclusion (I quote the Agreement on the Armed Forces and Border Troops): "Together with the commander in chief of the Armed Forces we must examine and resolve within two months the question of the procedure for the control of the general-purpose forces with a consideration for the national legislations of the Commonwealth states and also the question of the sequence for the CIS states' implementation of the right to create their own armed forces. For Ukraine that begins 3 January 1992."

And it was on 3 January that Kiev began to hurry the military districts and Black Sea Fleet to take a republican oath. Yet so fare there is no agreement "on the sequence for implementing" the plans to create its own armed forces. And the main thing is that the hasty desire with the aid of the oath to achieve the "supreme stage" of independence could have a pernicious effect on the fate of thousands of people. Already, to judge by press reports, 1,084 servicemen (including 80 officers and 27 ensigns) from the national guard—the former internal troops—have refused to take the oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people, since they are citizens of other states. And the soldiers and sergeants have been airlifted (one can only marvel at such promptness) to Russian cities. Is that not the first "swallow" of a new migration of military men?

Some other forecasts could also be made 30 December. Now it is hardly possible to predict the consequences of the division of the army that has begun. Just look at the statement by the chief of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry press service that the Ukrainian military department does not categorize the Black Sea Fleet forces "as strategic nuclear forces." Therefore approaches toward their subordination and reform are the same as they are for the military districts. This statement does of course completely contradict the Agreement on Strategic forces, signed by President L. Kravchuk. As is well known, the heads of the CIS states categorized the naval forces and consequently the Black Sea fleet as strategic forces and recognize the need for a joint command for them.

Each state undoubtedly has the right to create its own army. That is a legal right. But in the CIS now there is a special situation from which it is possible to emerge only displaying no haste, on the basis of a transitional period. The new states have inherited from the USSR a unified and enormous army which in the past few years, in view of the inconsistent policy of the leaders of the already nonexistent Union, had acquired an unbalanced, if not explosive, nature. It is an open secret that it was the army which was used to stop up all the holes of the collapsing state and then it was marginalized. Will people withstand the new adversities? And under which banners will they rise?

And it is not a question of Ukraine alone. Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov signed the Agreement on the Armed Forces and Border Troops with the stage direction: "The transfer of the general-purpose armed forces to the Azerbaijan Republic must be completed within two months."

You do not need to be a prophet to answer the question: Why has the republic adopted this stance in particular? The national army which is being hastily formed is fighting the Karabakh "self-defense forces" and inflicting casualties. In brief, the military specialists need the new army. Azerbaijan has promised the Soviet Army officers who come to serve in it substantial legal and social guarantees. And one should not conceal the fact that there are already some anxious to join it. So here too a new administration of the oath in is expected. It is no accident that Azerbaijan, like Ukraine and Moldova, insisted in Minsk that the personnel be released from the oath they adopted previously.

The officers' unwritten code of honor, elaborated by blood and time, says that one can swear an oath of loyalty only once in a lifetime. Yes, the situation has changed. But should it be aggravated? It is no accident that the editorial office is now receiving a mass of telegrams raising precisely these questions. Just yesterday "envoys" from Odessa Military District delivered the decision of the Raukhovka garrison unified officers' meeting. The meeting believes, as the decision records, that the oath previously taken by the servicemen of the former USSR does not contradict the principles and aims facing the Armed Forces or the interests of each CIS state. The change in the servicemen's status, I read further, in connection with the disintegration of the Union should be implemented only by a resolution of the Council of Heads of State of the CIS. The oath should be administered after the elaboration of its text for the Armed Forces and only for new recruits to the army ranks.

In my view as of today that is the best way out. And god forbid that national "commissars" come to the regiments now and, following the 1917 tradition, begin hastily to divide the troops into "ours" and "theirs."

Navy Veterans Send Letter to Yeltsin

92UM0294A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 91 p 3

[Open letter to RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin from Navy veterans: "Save the Navy and Honor of Russia"]

[Text] The unfavorable and in some respects altogether complex situation emerging in the Navy under the influence of the crisis in the state, as well as proposals for reforming it, compel us to address the present letter to you.

The Commonwealth of Independent States is beginning to function in keeping with the agreements adopted in Alma-Ata. As coordinated with the heads of states belonging to the Commonwealth, the role of the legal successor of the Soviet Union in the international arena is entrusted to Russia.

The most significant issue of the new organization, structure, and future of our Armed Forces, including the Navy, hinges on the implementation of decisions concerning the interstate organization of the Commonwealth and the formation of its coordinating institutes.

The aggravation of the economic, political, and nationality crises on the territory of the former USSR in the last three years, the unreasonable conversion of defense industries, disrespect for the law, attacks by the press against the Army and the Navy, and the instability of the state undermine the fundamental basis for building the defense of the country.

The mighty military-economic potential of one of the four power victors over Fascism in World War II is disintegrating. The peoples of our motherland, the USSR, forged this potential in the postwar decades through a lot of self-sacrifice, with the talent and labor of their best representatives.

It was precisely this potential that made it possible for us to achieve military-strategic parity with the United States and NATO by the mid-1960's, which ensured international stability in the postwar years and in the environment of a bitter ideological confrontation between the two world systems, and prevented the outbreak of World War III.

In recent years these negative factors were exacerbated by failures in the domestic policy of the country in which short-sighted national leaders and parties fighting for power tried to hide from their people and the democratic opposition behind the backs of soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army and Navy while provoking bloodshed.

According to information available to us, a commission for the development of a concept of military reform, chaired by Army General K.I. Kobets and set up by an ukase of the former USSR president, has urgently prepared preliminary proposals concerning the structure and organization of the United Armed Forces within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States. These proposals have been developed in private, without the participation of the command and the Main Staff of the Navy.

We believe that the inclusion of the Navy in the composition of the Strategic Containment Forces (SSS) as a common participant, along the same lines as the Air Defense and the Air Force, is not quite justified because, with regard to the Navy, this structure does not ensure either its full-fledged operation or the quality accomplishment of the missions assigned to it.

Apparently, people who are inexpert in matters of naval construction dominate the composition of and set the tone within the commission for military reform, i.e. people who are not competent in issues of organization, combat, and everyday control of naval forces, operational planning, combat training, and long-range development of the Navy.

The existing military-geographic situation of our state (Commonwealth of Independent States), 60 percent of the length of whose borders run through the waters of 12 seas and three oceans; confrontation with the naval groups of NATO and especially the United States, two-thirds of whose nuclear missile weapons are concentrated on nuclear submarines and attack aircraft carriers, and its unchanged maritime strategy of "forward naval deployment" despite the peace-loving rhetoric of politicians; the reluctance of the United States and NATO to achieve agreements on mutual restrictions and reductions of naval forces and armaments; and, finally, the experience of the war in the Persian Gulf demonstrate quite definitively the exceptional peculiarities and tremendous scale of operations of our Navy.

The tremendous spatial extent of the zones of operation of our fleets, the variety of Navy forces, without parallel in any other armed service (five types of combat arms: submarine forces, surface vessels with various functions, marines, shore-based missile and artillery forces, and naval aviation—embarked carrier-based aviation and shore aviation with various functions), the autonomous status of the Navy in accomplishing most tasks in the area of defending the country in the sea and ocean sectors, mounting difficulties with conditions for the stationing of naval forces and ecology, centralized services, and all kinds of support, problems with the training and recruitment of personnel to service most sophisticated weapons and materiel systems, an exceptionally peculiar system of weapons supply and shipbuilding which involves virtually all enterprises of the country's military-industrial complex, and so on, account for the specificity of both routine operations and combat use of naval forces under the water, on the water, on the ground, and in the air.

Our Navy is now facing a complex situation in view of the aggravation of the crisis in our country. There are extreme difficulties with organizing full-fledged repairs, operations, and all types of support for ships. Military programs for naval construction are being cut. The ill-conceived and hasty "conversion" of unique shipbuilding enterprises which are without parallel in the world, such as the SMP [Northern Maritime Steamship Line] in Severodvinsk, and similar enterprises in St. Petersburg, Nikolayev, and Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, and cuts in funding, even for scientific research and experimental design work, undermine the foundation for the development of the Navy and render the drain of brains, ideas, and unique cadres irreversible.

Therefore, the debt of science and industry to the Navy in the sphere of ensuring the survivability of vessels, reducing their noise levels, and increasing the effectiveness of their combat use and combat stability from the theoretical, design, technological, and information points of view will go unpaid, and will cause our Navy irreversibly to lag behind the navies of NATO countries and, primarily, the United States.

The Navy is aging. The number of obsolete vessels retired annually is several times greater than that of new replacements. If this trend persists, the order of battle of the Navy will be cut in half by 1996. The Navy may end up being simply unable to accomplish the tasks of defending the country entrusted to it, which is impermissible.

We who countered the enemy with fire on combat alert in 1941 and vanquished him in 1945 believe that it is important for our current statesmen and politicians to understand this, because some of them persistently impress on the people the view that we do not have enemies, that nobody threatens us, and therefore we simply do not need the Army and Navy.

We do not intend to attack anyone either. Our long-suffering people are facing many other urgent problems on the path toward a free, rule-of-law, democratic state.

However, it would help for all to know that in his annual message to Congress, "U.S. National Security Strategy," U.S. President George Bush wrote in August 1991: "As we face numerous and varied threats to stability, we will become convinced again and again that for us, powerful Armed Forces are a permanent source of certainty and a strong guarantee of security on both a regional and global scale." Further on: "Four fundamental requirements of the new era are already obvious: ensuring strategic containment; presence on forward lines in key areas of the world; effective crisis response; and preserving the ability of our country to mobilize and deploy forces should such a task arise."

While planning to reduce its Armed Forces to the reasonable level of "base forces," by 25 percent between 1990 and 1995, with ground forces being cut by 29 percent and the Air Force by 28 percent, the U.S. Navy will be cut by only 17 percent, and then from the level of the "600 ship Navy" planned for 1996. In the process, the overall combat potential of the U.S. Navy will increase by a factor of between 1.5 and two by the year 2000 due to the vigorous incorporation of qualitatively new ships into the Navy.

As we moor our fleet dockside, the United States still maintains combat patrols by between 20 and 23 missile submarines carrying ballistic missiles, and 18 to 20 attack nuclear submarines with Tomahawk cruise missiles. Three hundred such missiles were successfully used by the United States during the first "blinding" strikes against Iraqi air defense in January 1991. All these missiles are still aimed at installations in the former Soviet Union.

The history of post-1945 military conflicts (Vietnam, the Middle East, the 1972 Indo-Pakistan conflict, the Falklands conflict, and the Gulf War) are vividly instructive, and highlight the special responsibility of the Navy for the defense of the country in the sea and ocean sectors. The pulling apart of the Black Sea Fleet and the Caspian Flotilla by the sovereign states will result in no fleet remaining on the Black and Caspian Seas one or two years from now. In the absence of comprehensive support, trained personnel, and combat training, the vessels will burn up or sink dockside.

In view of the above, we propose:

1. To instruct the commission for reforming the Armed Forces to profoundly and attentively consider, analyze, and take into account proposals for reforming the organizational structure of the Navy developed by the Main Staff of the Navy.

We consider it vital and necessary that the preservation of the Chief Command and the Main Staff of the Navy be envisaged within the structure of the United Navy of the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as

structures performing the functions of combat control of the fleets, the planning of their combat use, the management of combat training and the building of all component services of the Navy: nuclear and diesel submarines for various functions; aircraft carrier, missile, antisubmarine warfare, and combat surface vessels and small naval combatants of all types for the defense and protection of naval bases and the coast; amphibious warfare ships; vessels of all kinds for combat, technical, and logistical support of naval forces; naval embarked and carrier-based missile-armed, attack and strike, fighter, antisubmarine warfare, reconnaissance, and special aviation; coastal defense troops: marines and shore-based missile and artillery forces.

2. To include in the commission for military reform truly competent specialists possessing excellent professional Navy training and extensive experience of service with the Navy from among the cadres of the Main Staff of the Navy, the main directorates and directorates of departments and services of the Navy, fleets, and admirals of the group of general inspectors and the reserve.

3. To ensure, in the course of the forthcoming state-to-state negotiations with the Baltic States, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan, the preservation of stationing the united Navy at the bases and posts of its current deployment, as is done by the U.S. Navy in Cuba, the Philippines, Japan, and other countries. All the more so because naval bases on the Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas have been built at the expense and with the resources of the Soviet state, and formerly Russia.

Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich!

We are aware of your lofty responsibility, persistence, and determination in efforts to reinforce the might of Russia and strengthen its unifying role in the commonwealth of democratic independent states endowed with equal rights. The historic mission to preserve the Navy as one of the most significant pillars of the might of our state—a great sea power for 300 years now—has been entrusted to you.

Along with all honorable citizens who feel for the motherland, we will support you in this endeavor in every way possible.

[Signed] Navy veterans:

Fleet Admiral G.M. Yegorov, hero of the Soviet Union; Fleet Admiral N.I. Smirnov, hero of the Soviet Union; Fleet Admiral N.D. Sergeyev; Admiral V.K. Korobov, hero of the Soviet Union; Admiral P.G. Kotov, hero of socialist labor; Admiral A.P. Mikhaylovskiy, hero of the Soviet Union; Admiral V.V. Mikhaylin; Admiral V.V. Sidorov; Vice Admiral L.A. Matushkin, hero of the Soviet Union; Air Force Colonel General G.A. Kuznetsov, hero of the Soviet Union; Air Force Colonel General A.A. Mironenko, hero of the Soviet Union; Vice Admiral A.M. Ustyantsev.

Army Conditions 'Absolute Mayhem' in Georgia

PM0701153592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report on RIA interviews with senior officers of Transcaucasus Military District under "Direct Line" rubric: "The Military Serve in Unendurable Conditions"]

[Text] Transcaucasus Military District—In Georgia the Army is living and performing its duties in conditions of absolute mayhem, staff of the Transcaucasus Military District stated to RIA correspondents. Assistant Commander Vasiliy Belchenko informed them that in the course of 1991 more than 600 Army vehicles of various makes had been stolen, and more than 200 attacks had been carried out on military installations and depots.

On 22 December 1991, when fighting broke out in Tbilisi, attacks on serviceman involving the use of firearms became more frequent. In the 10 subsequent days five officers and soldiers were killed, and a further four cases of servicemen dying under fire are being investigated.

"The patience of the officers corps is at breaking point," Lieutenant General Yuriy Grekov, acting commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, said. "However, the Army is adhering firmly to its neutrality, and will not interfere in the conflict."

All in all, in Yuriy Grekov's opinion, the military in the Transcaucasus are having to carry out their service in unendurable conditions. An extremely complex situation has arisen in Stepanakert, where a motorized infantry regiment is blockaded. Material and technical support can be provided only by air. An artillery battery is on battle alert and is under orders to open warning fire if just one missile of the forces fighting in Stepanakert falls on the territory of the regiment.

Northern Fleet Withdraws From Fishing Grounds

LD0901094392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The Naval Fleet of the former USSR has refused to protect our fishing vessels in fishing areas. Our correspondent in Murmansk, Yuriy Arkhipov, reports the details.

[Arkhipov] The Naval Fleet has informed the leaders of all the water basins of the country of its intention to withdraw its vessels from fishing grounds. Sevryba [Northern Fishing], the Association of Fishing Industry Enterprises, has also received this telegram. [passage omitted]

The Naval Fleet argues that the decision to withdraw its ships from the fishing grounds is due to the shortage of fuel, food, and hard currency, which is used to pay crews' wages. Clearly understanding the situation in which fishermen would find themselves if the Naval Fleet abandons them, the Sevryba director's office suggested

the following option to the Red Banner Northern Fleet: All the fleets of the northern basin and coastal enterprises will cover the expenses of the Northern Fleet.

The naval seamen liked this way out of the situation, and over two weeks specialists calculated costs to present specific figures to the fishing association. The fishermen were already celebrating their victory; enterprise directors were prepared to cover colossal expenses for the sake of the safety of their fishermen. Completely unexpectedly, however, and without any explanation whatsoever—as is usual with the military—all negotiations on the matter were cut off and the entire Naval Fleet returned to base.

Pavel Vinogradov, the Sevryba association's chief navigation safety inspector and a man who has been directly involved in this problem, discovered that the Red Banner Northern Fleet made the decision to suspend the negotiations on orders from above—and in the Army and the Fleet, as we know, there is no discussion of orders.

About 20 ships belonging to the Sevryba association are fishing in the Central East Atlantic today. Should any conflict with patrol launches from littoral states arise, the fishermen will have only their own resources to rely on. A question comes to mind: Is the Association of Fishing Industry Enterprises perhaps planning to withdraw its vessels from distant fishing grounds, in particular from the shores of Africa? Pavel Vinogradov said at once: Even though the military is gone, fishermen will continue to fish. The people have to be fed, as does the military.

Servicemen's Union Focuses on Human Rights

PM0801104192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent R. Zadunayskiy under "Direct Line" rubric: "Military Trade Union Against Human Rights Violations in the CIS"]

[Text] Moscow—"Creation of republic armies by the components of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], regardless of the interest and opinions of the servicemen of different nationalities, affects human rights as declared by the world community." This is the statement of the Independent Servicemen's Trade Union Organizational Committee.

The organizational committee's appeal to public opinion and to the presidents of the sovereign states says that in some republics of the CIS the administration of military oaths of allegiance pledging loyalty to the people of the state in question alone are being organized on a compulsory basis. This process is being carried out regardless of the national composition of CIS armies and could have unpredictable consequences. Servicemen who refuse to take the oath of allegiance for reasons of a national character could be subjected to repression.

The organizational committee appealed to the European Organization of Military Associations (Euromil), calling for help for CIS servicemen whose human rights could be violated.

Economic & Social

Former Bank Official Remarks on Economy

AU0501152392 Paris AFP in English 1207 GMT 5 Jan 92

[Excerpt] Paris, Jan 5 (AFP) — Republics of the former Soviet Union will experience increasing social tension as economic reforms are pushed through, but things should look up by 1993, the official in charge of servicing the external debt said Sunday [5 January]. Tomas Alibegov, former deputy chairman of the Vneshekonombank, the old Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade, told AFP inflation would continue to increase over the next few months, in line with the freeing of prices.

"We shall have strikes, demonstrations, maybe more than before as the present situation is difficult. But it won't go as far as an all-out social explosion," he said.

The new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) had inherited from the Soviet Union an external debt of between 70 billion and 80 billion dollars, he said. But the CIS republics could hope to retrieve about 30 billion dollars of the money owed the Soviet Union by a number of debtors, including India, Libya, Syria, Algeria and Vietnam. Several of these had already started to pay back part or all of their debts, Alibegov said.

Speaking of Cuba, itself in very serious economic trouble, the official said Moscow did not expect any funds back from these quarters.

Alibegov and four other former Soviet officials were here to negotiate terms for repayment of the former Soviet Union's debt with representatives of 17 major Western creditors. A meeting of the official Group of Creditors of the Former Soviet Union and its Successors on Saturday [5 January] granted republics of the former Soviet Union a moratorium on repayments of principal covering some 32 billion dollars of debt.

"This agreement was perhaps not the best we could hope for, but it was the best we could get," Alibegov said. "It's not so much that we can't pay, but we are in a chaotic situation. If reforms are successful, then the situation can quickly improve, by 1993," he said. [passage omitted]

Control Over Money Supply 'Becoming Symbolic'

PM0801142792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Ivan Zhagel: "The Main Thing in Short Supply in the Early Days of the Reform Is Cash"]

[Text] The social protection measures that were adopted prior to price liberalization—increased pensions, pay,

and stipends—sharply increased the need for cash. Naturally, in our conditions, following the "grand old tradition," it has developed into a massive problem, and the printing press, universally reviled only a few months ago, has become an object of concern and attention for all the parliaments and governments of the independent states.

According to A. Zinchenko, director of the Russian Federation Central Bank Main Administration for the Regulation of the Money Supply, since the beginning of the year the cash deficit in Russia alone has reached 10 billion rubles [R]. And if after the sharp increase in prices enterprises were to increase pay just as sharply, this deficit would not be reduced, but would actually increase.

In order to make up the cash deficit in the various regions of Russia it has been necessary even to use military aircraft and other transport facilities not normally used for the delivery of bank notes. The pressure was also relieved somewhat when, at the end of December 1991, R500 notes were put into circulation in areas of the Far East. They are planning to do the same in central areas of the republic in early January.

Nonetheless, A. Zinchenko is not sure that all these measures will fully stabilize the situation in the republic. The breakthrough is most likely to come in late March or early April, when the R1,000 banknotes currently being prepared for printing are issued.

The situation is even worse in Ukraine. According to information received from V. Matviyenko, chairman of the republic Central Bank, the cash deficit there is now around R5 billion, and, according to expert calculations, it could reach R25 billion by the end of January. Because of this wage payments were delayed, which led to strikes at enterprises in the Donbass, Odessa, and Kiev Oblast.

R500-denomination bank notes have not yet arrived in Ukraine. But they have started circulating the reusable coupons which the republic had printed abroad. Asked how many of the coupons would be printed, V. Matviyenko replied that they would make as many as are required for the normal functioning of the republic economy.

Well, one can understand what the Ukrainian bank chairman is saying, but it is difficult shake off the anxiety that control over the money supply is increasingly becoming symbolic in a way. Let us not forget that the issuing of coupons does not at all mean that a national currency has appeared in Ukraine or a step has been taken in that direction. This coupon is the ruble in another guise. And it will be equal in value. Moreover, the ruble alone will be used in noncash settlements and in transactions between enterprises. So the right to issue coupons is the right to issue not new, but old money. That is, it is a scattering of functions that were once concentrated in one place.

In this sense, the policy of the Belarus Central Bank seems more attractive. Incidentally, here too there is a major cash deficit. T. Korzhenevskaya, chief of the Money Supply Administration, told me that back in December they had asked to be sent an extra 2 billion in cash, but the request has not yet been met. Moreover, Belarus does not yet have R200 bank notes, let alone R500 ones.

Nonetheless, Belarus has no intention yet of issuing reusable coupons—ruble substitutes. Their solution is different: They have organized a system for the swift transfer of cash from one region of the republic to another and they are expanding the system of noncash transactions. All this enables them to control the situation and reduce the number of hiccups in the payment of wages and pensions to a minimum.

But the cash problem is going to remain an urgent one for all the independent states of the Commonwealth in the next few months. So people should certainly be looking for some general approaches and elaborating a joint program for a way out of the cash crisis situation.

Metallurgy Industry Declines in 1991

OW0601223292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1934 GMT 6 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metallurgy in the USSR in 1991: Results**

Growth rates in the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries in the USSR continued to decline throughout 1991. Production of the main products fell seriously as did that of coke, iron ore and sinter. The chronic shortage of both coking and energy coal together with the breakdown in trade between the republics led to stoppages and closures at a number of large and medium-scale enterprises, many of which were the sole manufacturers of certain metallurgical products. In early 1991 the Koksogorskiy Iron and Steel Works—the country's only manufacturer of certain specialized types of ferromagnetic alloys—was closed, and work came to a standstill at the Lipetsk Iron and Steel Works. The Red October Combine, which manufactures a large part of the alloy and stainless steels for ballbearings and the oil industry, did nothing for six months. By the beginning of 1992 the production of drilling steels in the country's largest iron and steel enterprises, which form part of the Roschermet Corporation, will stop completely, and this in the opinion of experts could bring oil and gas production down by 40% as compared with the 1991 level.

In 1991 the average daily production of the main metallurgical products fell by 6% per month. These negative development trends resulted in the following production figures for the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries in the USSR in 1991:

IRON ORE - 162.5 mn [million] tons [as received] (83% compared to 1990)

CAST IRON - 83.0 mn tons (85% compared to 1990)

STEEL - 104.6 mn tons (data for 10 months of 1991)

ROLLED METAL - 79.2 mn tons (data for 10 months of 1991)

STEEL PIPING - 17.9 mn tons (90% compared to 1990)

The management of Roscherment, the country's biggest supplier of iron and steel products, claim that an annual investment of up to $10 bn. [billion] will be necessary just to finance the reconstruction programmes at the largest enterprises. Non-ferrous metallurgical enterprises, which are part of the Rostsvetmet Corporation, need investments of up to $3 bn. But it is expected that state subsidies will remain at their present level.

In 1991 the total amount of state subsidies to the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical industries of the USSR was approximately 7.5 bn. rubles. The industries also received some $3.7 bn.

Output of Enterprises in the Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metallurgical Industries of the USSR in 1991 in Comparable Wholesale Prices

	Accounts	Growth Rate %	Shortfall by 1990
THE USSR AS A WHOLE	94887.9	93.2	6728.3
ROSCHERMET OR ROSTSVETMET CONCERNS:			
METALLURGPROM	18779.3	92.6	2253.7
SPETSSTAL	6890.7	91.6	897.0
TRUBOPROM	8154.9	98.5	551.9
PROMMETIZ	4205.5	98.8	185.9
RUDOPROM	3735.0	93.7	65.2
VTORMET	949.7	92.5	48.4
VTORTSVETMET	1188.2	90.1	97.2
YUZHMETALLURGPROM	11361.7	92.6	1201.4
YUZHRUDA	3269.4	90.3	105.2
YUZHOGNEUPOR	581.5	93.6	76.7
YUZHKOKS	2643.9	81.8	196.7
SOVALUMINII	7811.2	96.7	103.1
SOYUZUGLEROD	785.4	98.2	21.4
METALLURGMASH	793.5	113.1	17.9
PO SOYUZTVERDOSPLAV	2354.8	105.9	00.0
ROSCHERMET DEPARTMENTS:			
DEPT OF FERRO-ALLOY INDUSTRY	2591.2	95.4	135.6
DEPT OF POLYMETALS	2666.4	92.5	161.7
DEPT OF HEAVY METALS	6735.8	82.5	105.7
DEPT OF WOLFRAM AND MOLYBDENUM INDUSTRY	1147.7	90.4	147.0
NON-ASSOCIATED PRODUCERS:			
NPO ARMTSVETMET	114.8	97.1	37.8
NPO REDMET	1535.6	99.7	26.7
PO AZTSVETMET	379.9	94.7	7.2

Agriculture

Latest Weather, Crops Data Provided

PM0612150391 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by agrometeorologist N. Mikheyev: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Warm weather persisted over most of the country's European territory. The air temperature over the 10-day period was 3-7 degrees above the perennial mean. The soil in fields sown to winter crops virtually everywhere has thawed and there is no snow cover. Winter crops' winter-hardiness remains reduced. It was only in the east of the Northern region, in the Urals region, the northeastern and southern Volga-Vyatka and northern Volga Valley region that winter crops were under a covering of snow (3-15 cm or more). The minimum soil temperature at grain crop tillering node depth held steady at 0 to minus 2 degrees. Conditions for the start of over-wintering were satisfactory here.

The minimum soil temperature at winter crop tillering node depth was close to 0 degrees throughout the rest of the northern region and in the central and northern central Chernozem regions where the soil has thawed, but winter grain crops have not begun to produce vegetation. Plants continued their intensive consumption of nutrients for respiration.

Poor vegetation was recorded by winter grain crops in the Baltic, Belarus, and the northwest region, as well as in the southern central Chernozem region and the northern Ukraine on some days when the air temperature was 5-9 degrees. Plants here were mainly at the tillering phase.

For most of the 10-day period winter grain crops grew in the southern Ukraine, in Moldova, over most of the North Caucasus region, and in the Lower Volga Valley. The top soil contained predominantly 25-30 mm of productive moisture. Plants were mainly at the tillering stage. Top soil moisture content remained inadequate in some parts of Odessa, Kherson, Rostov, and Astrakhan Oblasts, Stavropol Kray, and the republics of the Northern Caucasus; winter crops in some fields here were at the stage of producing shoots and the third leaf.

Winter grain crops in crop farming areas of Western Siberia are in a state of winter dormancy under a covering of snow fluctuating between 7-20 cm in depth. Minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth remained steady at primarily between minus 5 and minus 8 degrees and in western Altay Kray between minus 10 and minus 12 degrees. Over-wintering is going well. It was only in northeastern Novosibirsk Oblast that the soil temperature at winter crop tillering node depth dropped and ranged between minus 16 and minus 18, which is dangerous for poorly developed rye crops.

Winter grain crops in the Transcaucasian republics grew throughout most of the 10-day period. Their supply of moisture was adequate for the most part.

Grain crops continued growth in the Central Asian republics and southern Kazakhstan. The weather turned cold at the end of the 10-day period. Rain fell over most of the area and moisture supplies in the upper soil layer were replenished as a result. Conditions for the appearance of shoots on dry-farming land have somewhat improved.

Developments for 3-8 Jan

LD0901015392

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of fileworthy reports not previously reported on agricultural developments monitored from Central Eurasian sources from 3 to 8 January. Items are listed in chronological order by republic. Sourcelines and processing indicator follow each item.

RUSSIA:

Neither a higher purchase price for grain, nor 19 million pieces of equipment, nor consumer goods have improved Russian agriculture in the last year. Only one-third of the $300 million offered to peasants for grain was spent. Farms in a number of oblasts are still reluctant to sell grain to the state. These figures were given today at a news conference held by Leonid Chesinskiy, Russian minister of grain procurement. He refrained from predicting the harvest for 1992, but noted that problems with grain will remain until the problem of mixed feed is solved in the republic. Farms are forced to use grain in order to save cattle. In some oblasts, for example, Ivanovo oblast, Smolensk oblast, and others, four to five times more grain is used than normal for a year. [Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Jan 92]

UKRAINE: No fileworthy items monitored.

WESTERN REGION (Belarus, Moldova): No fileworthy items monitored.

CENTRAL ASIA (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan): No fileworthy items monitored.

CAUCASUS (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia): No fileworthy items monitored.

BALTIC STATES (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania): No fileworthy items monitored.

Media

TASS Carries Moscow Press Review for 9 Jan

LD0901071792 Moscow TASS in English 0711 GMT 9 Jan 92

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—The principal topic discussed in today's newspapers is the destiny of the country's Armed Forces in the light of a decision by the Republic of Ukraine to regard the Soviet Black Sea Fleet as a combat unit which is under Ukraine's jurisdiction.

The press carries various comments on the issue. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries in a column of materials headlined "The Servicemen Should Take an Oath of Loyalty to the People While Politicians Must Be Guided by Common Sense." The newspaper unambiguously declares in favour of the Black Sea's Fleet remaining under the jurisdiction of the central command.

The administration of of all troops' oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Independent States would be the best way out of the situation, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out.

In an interview with the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper, Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, commander-in-chief of the Navy of the former Soviet Union, categorically declared against transfering the Black Sea Fleet to Ukraine's jurisdiction.

NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA believes that "the Black Sea Fleet issue may become a stumbling block to Russia and Ukraine in tackling matters of high state importance."

The Armed Forces issue is also figuring importantly in the tackling of "regional" problems. NEZAVISEMAYA GAZETA carries an interview with President Saparmurad Niyazov of Turkmenia, pointing out that the republic "is prepared to set up a ministry of defence but without an army of its own."

At the same time all newspapers note the determination of the leadership of Ukraine to uphold the idea of its own armed forces at the forthcoming talks with the Russian leadership.

PRAVDA runs an article by its correspondent in the Baltics, who comments on the local authorities' demand for the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from the territories of the three Baltic republics.

PRAVDA carries an article pointing out that the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from Nagorno-Karabakh is not an act of betrayal but, on the contrary, is a move towards stabilising the situation, even though it is a somewhat belated move.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA runs an interview with Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar who emphasises that the Russian Government will comply with all demands of the miners. The question arose in view of the fact that many leaders of strike committees began to doubt that the authorities would be able to keep its promises to the miners who had called off strikes.

All newspapers report that Zviad Gamsakhurdia, his family and a group of supporters still remain on Armenia's territory. The press carried no official statement by the Armenian authorities on that score.

International Affairs

Yeltsin To Attend UN Security Council Summit

LD0801222892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2210 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations, 9 Jan (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, has agreed to take part in the UN Security Council summit meeting scheduled to be held at the international community headquarters in New York on 30 January. Yuliy Vorontsov, permanent representative of the Russian Federation at the United Nations reported this in an interview with the TASS correspondent.

Yeltsin, Landsbergis Meeting Set for 16 Jan

OW0801171092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1519 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the head of Lithuania's parliament Vytautas Landsbergis are to meet in Moscow on January 16. This information was confirmed by Audrius Azubalis, press attache of Lithuania's parliament.

As we reported earlier, on Monday [6 January] the Russian President had a telephone conversation ith the Lithuanian leader. The two officials agreed to meet and discuss a number of issues concerning bilateral relations.

Ukrainian Claims on Black Sea Fleet Protested

LD0801180992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ludmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)—"We consider unfounded claims by Ukraine on the Black Sea Fleet, which is part of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] strategic forces, as demonstration of political madness which will have tragic consequences for all CIS peoples". These words are from a telegram that the leaders of the Democratic Party of Russia (DPR) decided to send to servicemen who are doing their military service in the Black Sea Fleet. The text of the telegram was read out at a news conference by the DPR leaders which was held at the party's Moscow headquarters today.

According to Yevgeniy Malkin, deputy chairman of the party's political council, the DPR thinks that the Black Sea Fleet cannot be handed over to the jurisdiction of any of the CIS republics.

Further on News Conference

LD0801233192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Excerpts] The issue of the Black Sea Fleet was also dealt with at a news conference by the leadership of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], which was held on 8 January. This news conference has laid the foundation for regular meetings between DPR leaders and journalists. Marfel Islamov reports:

[Islamov] It can be said that the issue of the future of the united armed forces of the former Union occupied the main place at the news conference. The intention of the Ukrainian Government to transfer the Black Sea Fleet to its jurisdiction caused a negative position on the part of the DPR leaders. A draft telegram addressed to seamen of the Black Sea Fleet was read out at the news conference. The main idea of the message is that groundless claims by Ukraine to the Black Sea Fleet are a manifestation of political insanity which can have the most tragic consequences for all the peoples of the Commonwealth. In connection with this, Vladimir Stolypin, deputy chairman of the Moscow regional organization of the DPR, said: It is high time that the Russian Federation comes back to its senses and understands that when everyone around is announcing the formation of their own national armed forces, maybe it is time to return to the CIS agreement and to appeal to those people who signed this agreement to adhere to the letter of this agreement and not to split up something which cannot be split up under the current conditions. The hungry and socially unprovided army which in addition to it would be subjected to a national split, may become ungovernable.

Thus, the news conference has proved once again the negative attitude of the DPR to the formation of the CIS. [passage omitted]

The DPR leadership intends to express a more precise position on all issues of the country's political life at the forthcoming first sitting of the

Troops May Join UN Peacekeeping Force

LD0801215992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, January 8 (TANJUG)—The Russian Federation agrees to send its troops as part of a United Nations peacekeeping force which would be sent to Yugoslavia.

A top official of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry who wished to remain anonymous, told TANJUG this evening, that if asked by the international community, Russia would 'most probably answer positively.'

The question of sending Russian troops as part of the Blue Helmets has not yet been officially raised. However, Moscow is thinking of such a possibility.

The above-mentioned Foreign Ministry official said that in the event that Russian troops were to be included in the Blue Helmets, units currently stationed in the area of the former East Germany would be sent to Yugoslavia.

Under an agreement between Bonn and Moscow, the deadline for the withdrawal of these units is January 1994.

Official on Sending Servicemen to Yugoslavia

OW0801161592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Russian Foreign Ministry representative has stated that the question of sending Russian troops to Yugoslavia as part of UN peacekeeping force has not yet been formally raised. In an interview with INTERFAX's correspondent he noted, however, that Austria has clearly suggested that Russian troops be sent to Yugoslavia as "blue helmets."

Experts believe if the international community makes such a request to Russia, it can react positively. In this case, it is not ruled out that part of the Western Group of forces stationed on the former GDR's territory could be moved to Yugoslavia. The Western Group of forces are to be withdrawn from the German territory by January, 1994.

Political Disengagement From Caucasus Urged

PM0801145792 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 1, 5 Jan 92 p 8

[Oleg Ayrapetov article: "War in the Caucasus: Russia's Past or Its Future? Can the Current Government Avoid the Russian Empire's Mistakes?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today the Transcaucasus and the Caucasus are largely careering into an 18th-century situation. Problems are surfacing which were once settled by "Russian occupation" and subsequently by the "Soviet empire." The factor of force has gone, while the factor of geopolitics and tradition remains. That is the main conclusion.

Russia has to decide whether it will be politically present in the Caucasus. In my view, this is a rhetorical question—it will have to leave, and the sooner the better. The Caucasus is becoming an unreliable, costly, and dangerous burden. The only question is where and how we should stop. That is a question that any Russian Government will have to face sooner or later.

The empire resolved interethnic problems in its own system. There is no longer an empire, but so far it has merely been replaced by a call for talks. But which ethnic problems have been resolved this way?

The abandonment of the Caucasus, the immediate troop withdrawal from the Transcaucasus, and the drawing of a new border through Cossack oblasts—that is the way out of the prevailing situation. As for the Russians living in the Caucasus, the flow of refugees will inevitably grow, and that has to be taken into account. It will be necessary to close the border to economic emigrants and to introduce special regulations for entering Russian territory and bringing in devalued money. The loss of Groznyy and Baku will not be so painful, since these areas have to a considerable extent lost their oil potential.

Russia needs to leave, take up advantageous positions, and bide its time without interfering in Caucasian politics under any circumstances.

The empire once came to the defense of the "old believers" in the Transcaucasus. On the one hand, this step saved the Georgians and Armenians, on the other hand it led to the Caucasian War. A great deal has changed since then, but one thing has remained the same—idealism in politics can result in major bloodshed.

Different peoples have different value systems. If we forget this, we risk harming both them and ourselves.

Russia Advised Not To Ignore Caucasus Unrest

PM0801160992 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian no 1, 5 Jan 92 p 8

[Mikhail Shevelev article: "The Ostrich Will Be Eaten Anyway"]

[Excerpts] The Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]—the gravedigger of the USSR—has not yet completed the burial act but has merely signed the death certificate. Until the problems which racked the deceased are resolved the new state formation will come across its specter at every step.

The problem of peaceful coexistence between the former Soviet republics is their main one. If it turns from a potential problem into a real one there will be no one to resolve the other problems—economic, social, and legal. An example of that is the Caucasus—a region where they hardly fear a "Yugoslav" or "Lebanese" scenario because events there are already close to that sorry pass. [passage omitted]

What will Russia (and its allies) lose by distancing itself from the Caucasus' problems?

The first and most obvious consequences of such a step are these: war (or wars) on Russia's southern borders, a flood of Russian and non-Russian refugees, who cannot be turned away but who cannot be accommodated either, the loss of a whole "chunk" of the all-Union economy and monopolist producers, the threat of terrorist acts on Russian territory, and an increase in aggressive attitudes in the southern oblasts where war in the Caucasus will hit hardest of all. Turkey's present, hyperactive policy in this region shows what will replace Russian influence in the Caucasus and Transcaucasus. When embroiled in the Caucasian war Russia created a new reality if for no other reason than that it divided the

mountain peoples into its allies and opponents and any present-day government will have to take that into account.

There is no doubt that Russia's policy in the Caucasus must be more decisive. But decisiveness is not the same as leaving without a backward glance, and toughness is different from the simple use of military force. There are methods which, even if they are not the epitome of political ethics, are effective and justified simply because they avoid large-scale bloodshed: namely, economic coercion, backstage diplomacy, and the taking advantage of intraregional contradictions. It will be beneficial for the Russian Government to learn those methods otherwise it will face an unpleasant dilemma: Either it becomes a policeman or it leaves the Caucasus but not through its own choice.

The Caucasian problems must be resolved because they are spreading beyond the Caucasus. Withdrawal, self-isolation, and attempting to go back to the past are unseemly methods. No matter how the ostrich buries its head in the sand, it will be eaten anyway.

Kozyrev Views Embassy Issues, Missions Abroad

LD0801231492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2120 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev by unidentified interviewer; place and date not given; broadcast in progress—recorded]

[Text] [Kozyrev] ... this question. We are working with a single command, a common command, both the Russian Foreign Ministry, and the Union one [as heard]. I think that now with the new year the mood will be better. There is a realism, that this of course is a professional apparatus, it must be preserved, and now it is working for common goals. I think that after that time, when there was a certain demoralization in the Union apparatus linked to the collapse of the center and the fact that the center resigned and the apparatus resigned together with it—inevitably because of the political processes—now I think that the feeling is arising here that once again there is a goal, that this goal is worthy, it is a democratic Russia, its place in the world. We already have a place guaranteed in the world, we have taken it up, this place is a solid one. On the other hand it is necessary to insure succession, and find some new approaches. We are working on this at the moment. That is, it seems to me that the Foreign Ministry is getting its second breath now.

[Interviewer] How will the Commonwealth of Independent States members be represented in the present embassies abroad?

[Kozyrev] This issue is being discussed just now, it was discussed in Minsk as well. There are two factors here, of course: There is an inertia in thinking in terms of the old Union. That is, having become independent states, and achieving this in various ways, some former Union republics seem to continue thinking in the same categories—there are common Soviet embassies, there are diplomats there from all republics. It does not work like that, because foreign partners are recognizing all the independent states in different ways, at different speeds, with different provisos. The Russian Federation was the first to be recognized. We have practically no problems with recognition now. Russia is recognized as the state continuing the Union. It does not follow from this, however, that other republics will not have the possibility of using former Soviet Union embassies for their interests. On the contrary, we consider that the task of the present Russian embassies is to help the other republics to find their place, to set themselves up, and so on.

Well, of course, a dual problem emerges. If individual former Union republics and today's states want to use the infrastructure of Russian embassies, the former Union embassies, that is one way of doing it. Another way is—if they want—to open their own quite independent embassies. And evidently in a number of cases that option will be inevitable for them, because they need the embassies of foreign states to be not in Moscow, attached to the Russian leadership and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but, for instance, in Kiev, Alma-Ata or some other capital, so that they have the embassies on their territory.

Look at what happens here in Moscow. We make land and buildings and so on available for foreign embassies. In return for that, land and buildings and certain residence conditions are made available for the former Soviet and now Russian embassies. It is another matter—this is definite, there is no question of this—that we will be prepared to share some part of the property either in the form of temporary assistance, giving everyone a presence in the relevant embassy; even if they are opening their own embassy on a reciprocal basis, we will still be willing for them to temporarily rely on the Russian embassy and do their work from there. There is no question of that. Then we will have to consider how their share in the property, in other words the property to which, say, Kazakhstan as a former Union member is entitled abroad, should be used in the new Kazakh embassy in particular countries.

This is almost entirely a technical matter. The decision adopted in Minsk opens up great opportunities for settling all of this on a friendly basis, and I think that on a practical level we will have no problems with any of the former Union republics and today's independent states.

[Interviewer] And the final question. When do we intend to move into the new embassy building in Washington and the Americans into their building here?

[Kozyrev] You will know that feelings are running very high around this matter. I should like to take the opportunity to support Bakatin's decision. I think that it was politically justified and correct, and showed our new face, a willingness to boldly remove the obstacles that existed earlier.

Well, these issues are now being discussed in their specifics, and I think that in the near future we will find a solution. This will not create a precedent for constantly revealing all our technical secrets. But at this stage, in order to somehow clear the ground, I think that this was a correct decision, on the whole.

[Interviewer] Are you expecting other embassy representatives to make similiar requests?

[Kozyrev] You know, we are dealing with intelligent people. We ourselves are trying, on the whole, to behave in a civilized way. Clearing away old obstacles does not mean that we are throwing ourselves headlong and ceasing to understand the realities of the modern world. These are different things. But the surrounding world as well, you know, is not a child now, a barbarian one which will immediately start demanding such things. In my opinion this is all viewed according to its merit, just as it was before, with this episode when our old services went too far. You understand, really, there is an element of a Russian basis. But as yet no one has come forward, and there have been no such terrible demands. So I think that our press, certain parts of the media, certain journalists, well they want—I understand this, of course—to find some element of scandal. But in fact there is no international scandal. Everyone understands very well what this is about, and is prepared to cooperate with us on a civilized basis.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

[Kozyrev] Thank you.

Kozyrev, Genscher Discuss 'Broad Possibilities'

LD0801163592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1548 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)—A number of issues relating to Russian-German relations were discussed today in a telephone conversation between Andrey Kozyrev, Russian minister of foreign affairs, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German minister of foreign affairs.

The ministers agreed that the results of Boris Yeltsin's recent visit to Germany, the documents signed in Bonn, are opening up broad possibilities for a qualitatively new level of cooperation between Russia and Germany in different spheres. In this context several specific aspects of practical bilateral cooperation were examined.

Taking into account Russia's right to succeed to the treaties of the former USSR, a mutual interest was expressed in the further promotion of that positive potential created in the preceding years.

Andrey Kozyrev informed his German colleague of the results of the meeting of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] leaders in Minsk, about the accords on military and strategic issues. He highly assessed the active position taken by Germany in issues of rendering humanitarian aid to Russia and in consolidating the efforts of the West in support of the transition of the Russian economy on to market tracks. In discussing international problems it was stressed that close cooperation between Russia and Germany in the foreign political sphere, in pan-European construction, and economic cooperation is capable of becoming an important factor in strengthening peace and stability on the continent.

Talks With Baker

LD0801210592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1947 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)—Today a telephone conversation was held between Andrey Kozyrev, Russian foreign minister, and James Baker, U.S. Secretary of State. The Information Directorate of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that a wide range of issues connected with the planned Russian-American contacts at the highest level, the preparation and holding of a multilateral conference on the Middle East, and also the current political and economic situation in Russia were discussed.

New Challenges in Foreign Policy Noted

PM0801150192 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian no 1, 5 Jan 92 p 5

[Doctor of Historical Sciences Sergey Karaganov article: "What To Do With the Legacy?"]

[Text] The Gorbachev era in foreign policy, too, has ended. The state on whose behalf it was conducted no longer exists. The old agenda is disappearing and a new one appearing, requiring a fundamental reexamination of our international course.

Gorbachev's foreign policy was contradictory. The new thinking combined common sense and a rosily romanticized view of things. Common sense urged a repudiation of the foreign empire, which drained the country's resources and offered hardly any benefits, apart from ephmeral ones, to emerging from confrontation with the alliance of developed states and to the formulation of appropriate ideas on the world around us and our place in it.

The rosily romanticized view, in offering opportunities for moral and ethical breakthroughs, made the world appear better than it was and made it difficult to barter and obtain a fair price for our concessions.

Therefore, it is hard to give a clearcut assessment of Gorbachev's foreign policy balance. The country retained virtually none of the foreign policy bonuses. Because of the internal crisis and the clumsiness or demoralization of the foreign policy departments we lost many of the dividends which we could have reaped for the enormous political investments that we made.

But on the other hand, we have no costly clients left any more and, most important, no more opponents—for the first time in history.

However, this balance applies to the USSR—a country which belongs to last year.

The Russian Federation and the other republics of the defunct Union, of course, inherit some achievements. But in the foreign policy sphere, clearly, they will have a greater number of challenges.

The main one is ensuring the peaceful building of the new states on the territory of the former Soviet Union. In history the process of the disintegration of old countries and the formation of new ones has hardly ever been peaceful. Will the heirs of the Union use generously the asset that they have received—a world without enemies? Or will they create enemies for themselves from among their own number?

For Russia, it is simultaneously easier and more difficult to adapt to the world community. It is heir to much of the political attention and the bulk of the international ties of the USSR. But it will find it difficult to adapt psychologically to a new and far more modest role.

It is difficult for Russia, too, to fight its progressive inability to defend its own national state interests.

This inability is not only a result of the internal crisis and discarding the old trump cards or the will of the people and possibly the present ruling classes. Objectively the base of Moscow's international influence has contracted sharply. It can and must claim the role to be the USSR's legal heir. But it must not deceive itself. The Russian Federation is far from being the USSR. Furthermore, the reduction of the foreign policy potential is not such a great loss if it does not lead to the loss of the main gain—a favorable foreign policy environment. But preserving it in the new conditions needs outstanding diplomacy and a major ability to think in the new way.

This new "new thinking" dictates for Russia over the next decade an almost completely new agenda in international policy. After all, Russia's outward prosperity will be 80 percent dependent not on relations with America or Europe—for all their importance—but on its ability to influence the policy of the Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and the other former republics of the USSR.

Will Russian diplomacy be able to "provincialize itself" sensibly and respond adequately to the problems that are on today's real, down-to-earth agenda rather than the old, elevated global Gorbachev agenda? The past few months provide no answer yet. Russian policy mainly struggled against Union policy for recognition from the outside world. It has clearly not concentrated enough on what is henceforth its main work—diplomacy within the former Union.

One can hope that these are just growing pains and that they will soon be overcome. But the Russian Foreign Ministry, having "absorbed" the Union ministry and grown in strength, will change its priorities in keeping with the changing realities and will be able to combine openness toward the West with concentration on affairs in our part of Europe.

But even then Gorbachev and his ability to inspire trust in the outside world and his unsurpassed talent for snatching victory from the jaws of defeat or at least, time after time, turning defeats into something very similar to victory, will not be enough for us.

New Exchange Seeks To Restore Food Ties

PM0901122992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jan 92 First Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Yevgenyev report: "Will the Exchange Feed Everyone?"]

[Text] "We understand perfectly well that among the people a sharply negative attitude toward all kinds of exchanges has developed," S. Bogdanov, president of the new International Food Exchange [IFE], stated during the presentation of the exchange. Nevertheless, the exchange's leadership hopes to be able to overcome this negative opinion: The IFE intends in real earnest to set about restoring Russia's traditional food supply ties with the former CEMA countries, which were severed in recent years. It is already planned to open a branch of the exchange in Bulgaria in the coming months. There are proposals from entrepreneurs in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, other East European countries, and the West. Some 50 leading European and American firms have announced their intention to cooperate with the IFE.

All of this, together with the fact that the IFE is "looking after" transporting, guarding, and storing the food received under deals it has concluded, should ensure that the exchange makes a significant contribution to improving food supplies to Russia.

It can be hoped that the exchange will escape the fate of many others and will not turn into an arena where brokers vie with each other in speculation since for the most part only people who are directly linked with the production and sale of food and agricultural hardware will be admitted to the auctions, the first of which will be in mid-January. According to S. Bogdanov, in the future the exchange will quote the share prices of producers of agricultural produce.

'Several Firms' Candidates for Sakhalin Oil

OW0901061192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2139 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The American-Japanese consortium, Exxon-Sodeco, which is bidding for the Sakhalin oil tender, "will not be recommended to the Russian government as the only candidate eligible to win the tender." This was

told to IF [INTERFAX] by Sakhalin's vice governor, Viktor Sirenko, a member of the commission overseeing the Sakhalin tender. The commission was established in December 1991 by decision of the President of Russia's Council of Experts.

After Valentin Fedorov, the governor of Sakhalin, put forth additional conditions which the winner of the tender would have to meet, it had been assumed the Exxon-Sodeco consortium would be endorsed by the commission as the victor. The fresh requirements specified that the winning firm would have to have "experience in working in the Soviet market" and that it would be obliged to pay off a $277 mn [million] loan which had been extended by the Government of Japan to finance exploration for oil and gas on the Sakhalin shelf. Among all the contenders in the Sakhalin tender, only Exxon-Sodeco proposals met the new conditions put forth by Sakhalin's governor.

Mr. Sirenko said that the Sakhalin commission would probably "recommend several firms." These firms would then be asked to prepare detailed technical and economic proposals for developing the oil and gas fields on the Sakhalin shelf. Reserves of hydrocarbons on the shelf are estimated at 400 bn [billion] cu m [cubic meters] of natural gas and over 100 mn tons of oil.

Sakhalin Takes Issue of the Russian Government's Actions

The situation surrounding the tender is today plagued with disputes which arose between Sakhalin's administration and the Russian Government regarding the criteria for determining the winner of the tender.

Immediately after the formation of the Sakhalin commission, whose membership was approved by the President's council of experts, the Russian government announced that it was forming its own governmental commission on the tender. In mid-January, the Sakhalin commission is scheduled to present its findings to the governmental commission, which will take the final decision regarding the selection of a foreign partner for developing the shelf.

The Sakhalin authorities believe that the governmental commission does not plan to take Sakhalin's demand that the supplementary infrastructural projects for the island be included as part of the tender requirements. If such projects are not included, the Western firm winning the tender would be able to make a saving of $7 to $9 bn [billion] in expenditures involved in developing the shelf.

Hovever, Sakhalin's leadership believes that the island will be able to block any decision by the Russian Government which does not include development of the island's health facilities, transport, communications and food-processing industries. Local economists estimate that supplementary expenditures for such projects would amount to less than 10% of their total investment. They note that most of the infrastructural projects that the foreign company would finance would remain the company's property. The lowest estimate of what the Sakhalin project would require is $50 bn to be expended in the course of several years.

Amur-Yakutsk Railroad Interests Foreign Banks

OW0901055992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2139 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Banks in Israel, South Korea and the United States are showing interest in helping to finance the completion of the still unfinished railway line, running from Berkakit to Yakutsk. The line would link the Baykal-Amur line in Southern Siberia to Yakutsk, the capital of Yakutia. A decision on resuming work on the line, to be carried out by Glavbamstroy, was adopted in the Russian government at the beginning of the week.

In accordance vith the government's instructions, Glavbamstroy will be given responsibility for the entire line, including sections that have not yet been built. Interest on the long-term bank loan that was provided to Glavbamstroy in 1991 for the project will be paid out of the budget of the republic of Yakutia, which has been pressing for the line to be completed. Furthermore, it has been decided to deduct the money that Glavbamstroy channels to repay this loan from the taxes that it pays to the Russian Government. Construction of the line is scheduled for completion in 1997.

Antarctic Research With U.S. To Continue

LD0901023792 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, handed today the three-coloured flag of the Russian Federation to scientists of the first Russian-American Antarctic drifting station. In spite of current difficulties, Russia will continue to do research in the region.

Ruslan Khasbulatov told the First Channel of the Russian television, Russia does not think rights on research programmes belong entirely to it. "All the states are recognised to take part in the programme. However, today nobody except for Russia seems to be involved," the Russian official emphasised.

Chinese Enterprises Offer Nakhodka Foodstuffs

OW0901050992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2139 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Forty-five Chinese enterprises from six provinces of the People's Republic of China, taking part in the exhibition and fair which opened on Wednesday [8 January] in Nakhodka, hope to sell goods worth 100 mn

[million] yuan to the Far Eastern region. The commodities on offer include foodstuffs, consumer goods and equipment for light industries. Goods not sold by the end of the fair will be turned over for later sale to the Soviet-Chinese joint venture, Arksim, which is one of the fair's organizers.

Russia's Far East, an important area in cross-border trade with China, sells timber, building materials and some machinery and equipment to China's northeastern provinces and purchases mainly foodstuffs and consumer goods from them.

Kuril Government Supports UN Control

OW0801200192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1826 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the 8 January "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kuril government has again urged the United Nations to take the Kuril islands under its aegis. It suggested that a commission of U.S. experts be sent to the Southern Kurils, notably to Etorofu, to work out development plans. Under another option regarded by Kuril parliamentarians as feasible, the major stumbling block in Russo-Japanese relations could be removed by turning the islands into an international park and a center of ecological tourism.

The Russian Foreign Ministry seems to be rather skeptical about getting the UN to help Russia and Japan settle their territorial dispute. It believes the two neighboring countries can cope with the problem on their own.

A Foreign Ministry official stressed in an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that Russia had inherited all international obligations from the ex-USSR. In its relationships with Japan, this meant that Russia would have to comply with the Declaration of 1956, including its provision that the islands of Habomai and Shikotan would be transferred to Japan upon the conclusion of a bilateral peace treaty.

The diplomat noted that this did not mean two of the four Kuril islands claimed by Japan would be transferred to its jurisdiction automatically or immediately. He said talks on the whole range of issues, including territorial ones, would continue and some time may collapse between the taking of a decision on the matter and action on it.

The Russian Foreign Ministry does not rule out that the situation may be cleared up by this coming summer, when President Boris Yeltsin is scheduled to pay a visit to Japan.

Japan Sends Urgent Aid

LD0801152592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Japan intends to render urgent food aid to the residents of the South Kuril islands. In view of the worsening of the food situation on the islands, the Government of Japan and the Japanese Red Cross have decided to send urgent aid to the residents of the islands to the sum of 25 million yen in the course of this month.

Training Brigade in Cuba To Be Pulled Out

PM0901133992 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Single Edition p 3

[Editorial office report under general heading: "It Has Become Known to Us..."]

[Text] The numerical strength of the Soviet training brigade stationed in Cuba was reduced by several hundred men in December last year (in all, over 3,500 men were serving in it).

The final deadline for its withdrawal will be set during the second round of talks between official representatives of Russia and Cuba. The venue and date for holding it will be agreed via diplomatic channels.

The brigade's return will largely depend on the sides' transport potential and also on the solution of the social problems of the servicemen who are being withdrawn and the members of their families.

Afro-Asia Solidarity Committee Role Assessed

PM0801161592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by correspondent Boris Pilyatskin: "Committee Not Averse To Continuing To Feed Off Solidarity: Sinecure for Undowncast Functionaries"]

[Text] The terminology is not at fault, but what do you do when the ideological agencies of "mature socialism" like the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies or the Soviet Solidarity Committee have been rendered bogus and the very concepts of "friendship" and "solidarity" erased.

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries [SCSAAC] held a special place in the structure of the now defunct totalitarian system's foreign policy service. The hackneyed, semiliterate title concealed a Central Committee-KGB subunit which had links with dozens of countries in Africa and Asia. This was portrayed as the Soviet public's contacts with the public in that part of the "Third World." But the label concealed something quite different.

All the organizational work was conducted by an apparatus of specialist functionaries. They were appointed by the CPSU Central Committee and strictly toed the party

line. As for the foreign partners, depending on circumstances they dealt with kindred organizations, parties, and governments (often maintained by Soviet money) and all this was done exclusively for the purpose of coordinating steps in the joint march toward the radiant future and developing the anti-imperialist (for which read anti-U.S.) struggle.

The committee performed not only communications functions but also provided covert financing from a special Central Committee fund and the supplied weapons to various detachments of the "national liberation movement." Besides the SCSAAC, of course, there were other departments engaged in supporting "socialism" in Africa and Asia. As a convenient public screen, however, the solidarity committee was the particular favorite of the people in Staraya Ploshchad.

Its track record shows many years of support for the ANC, the essentially tyrannical Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, and totalitarian dictatorships in Libya, Uganda, and Equatorial Guinea... The list could go on and on. The waste paper of numerous "statements" offering assurances of friendship, support, and solidarity contained evidence of that activity. At that time, however, the SCSAAC did not once act in defense of violated civil rights and freedoms, flouted democracy, or manifestations of totalitarianism. It had more important business—strengthening contacts with its friends in the common cause.

Even during the years of perestroyka the committee remained true to itself and continued the line of its beloved Central Committee. This was shown particularly in links with the ANC and attempts to block the contacts which had begun with South Africa. And then, after holding out until the very last moment, the committee, instead of disbanding itself and disappearing ingloriously from the public arena, performed an ungainly somersault and reappeared as... the Russian Society for Solidarity and Cooperation with the Peoples of Asia and Africa.

There is hardly any point in believing the promise to develop relations with the African and Asian public "on a new basis." After all, the apparatus, with its entire baggage of past "services," remains the same. It is symptomatic that publicly there has not been a single word of self-criticism for all the moral and indeed practical damage done through the long years of the SCSAAC's existence, not to mention the squandering of vast amounts of taxpayers' money.

It is legitimate to ask: Why is it necessary to legalize one of the most odious ideological institutions of the old era? Is it really enough just to change the name and leave the functionaries' convenient sinecure untouched?

Cooperation Agreements Signed With Germany

LD0901104792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 7 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Stepovik]

[Text] Bonn, 7 Jan (TASS)—Three agreements providing for the expansion of Russo-German social cooperation were signed today by Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the government of the Russian Federation for social policy matters and minister of labor and employment, and Norbert Bluem, FRG minister for labor and social affairs. The deputy head of the Russian cabinet is in the Federal Republic on a working visit.

The documents signed, Norbert Bluem stated at the news conference, are intended to give assistance to Russia in the complicated transition to a market economy. We are of the opinion that Germany's readiness, as stated in the joint statement, to give assistance to Russia by a process of consultation in the organization of the labor market and in establishing social partnership will be of particular significance. No less important a role will be played by the training of young specialists in Germany. The agreement envisages that more than 2,000 Russians will be able to work on training assignments at German enterprises and firms. In addition, staff working in the social sphere will be given the opportunity to study Germany's experience in organizing labor safety systems, the labor market, social security, labor legislation, and other spheres.

The German minister expressed satisfaction in connection with the fact that the signing of the documents about specific areas of joint work has been possible just a few days after Germany's official recognition of Russia. It is very important, he emphasized, that the first agreements on cooperation have been ones dealing with social policy, which is an integral component of democratic development.

The results of the talks and the documents signed during the visit, the deputy head of the Russian cabinet pointed out, indicate that the government, which is tackling difficult economic and financial problems, is not forgetting about social matters. The delegations had to work with extreme intensity. But the result is plain to see: in three days it was possible to prepare for signing agreements that used to take years to draft.

Apart from talks at the FRG Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs, there were also conversations in the Federal Chancellor's office, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and with representatives of other institutions.

The Russian delegation, the Russian Government's deputy chairman announced, handed an invitation from President Boris Yeltsin to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to pay an official visit to the Russian Federation, the timing of which would be agreed later. Particular significance is attached to this visit in Moscow, he emphasized.

In the opinion of the Russian delegation, practically all the expectations connected with the visit to the Federal Republic have been realized. Nevertheless, its results should be seen only as a first step toward developing Russo-German social cooperation. Only the first page has been opened in relations between Russian and Germany.

The Russian Government, the minister said, intends to sign with Germany and other countries in the European Community interstate memoranda that would settle matters connected with deliveries of humanitarian aid shipments. He described as "a far from bad option" the proposals that part of the food arriving in Russia should be sold and the money obtained channeled into social funds. Such a system would not only enable control over the distribution of aid shipments to be tightened up, but would also contribute to the formation of market structures.

Answering a question about the fate of former GDR leader Erich Honecker, the minister said that the stance of the Russian leadership remains unchanged. The government considers that Honecker's stay in Russia runs counter both to Russian law and to the law of the former Soviet Union. The question of Honecker's stay in Russia, he stressed, must be resolved soon—but, naturally, by civilized methods.

Nakhodka To Receive Hard-Currency Pharmacy

OW0901053592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2139 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Business Report" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Germany's Albana Import-Export Gmbh und CO-Handels AG, specializing in intermediary trading, would like to open a hard-currency pharmacy in Nakhodka and supply the city with medicines and medical equipment. A decision is expected soon regarding the company's plans to supply the first batch of medicines, worth 50,000 hard rubles.

Albana's principal partners in the former USSR, where the company has been active for the past 15 years, are the Georgian, Black Sea and Murmansk steamship lines.

Health Official Sees 'No Logic' in Beef Ban

PM0901121392 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 p 2

[Vasiliy Andreyev, V.A., report under the general heading "About the Beef for the Commonwealth of Independent States": "Moscow"]

[Text] At your PRAVDA correspondent's request, A.A. Monisov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Health and Disease Prevention Supervision under the president of the Russian Federation, told us about the prevailing situation as regards the British meat:

"According to the World Health Organization [WHO], the so-called 'mad cow disease' of which our veterinary colleagues are so afraid and which has sparked off all this trouble, is not a disease that affects both man and animals. Neither we nor the WHO know of a single case of people being infected as a result of consuming beef. Furthermore, this meat is exported to many EC countries.

"However, regardless of the fact that we informed the Russian Government a week ago that there are no medical contraindications for the consumption of the British beef, our veterinary service is putting a ban on the import of a large quantity of food that could feed the population of Moscow or St. Petersburg for a month. I have before me on the table a telegram dated 5 January which contains instructions to destroy the beef and lamb from Great Britain. Personally I see no logic here. Yesterday (7 January—V.A.) we had another meeting with Ye. Gaydar and held talks with British specialists."

Our comment: As the editorial office was informed, the meat is being transferred to Murmansk so that canned stew can be made out of it. A ship is due to arrive in St. Petersburg today with a cargo of the same meat. And what is going to happen to it—canned stew again? Canned stew is not bad either, of course, but before allowing the product to be processed (which will not only increase waste, but will also make the product more expensive), it would not be a bad idea for the specialists to find out once and for all whether it is dangerous or not.

Since we ourselves do not have the brains to raise the same cattle, then we should at least react politely to the gift from abroad. A good neighbor who suspects that there is something wrong with a gift from his neighbor, checks ten times and only then, on finding a defect, does he make fuss. But what are we doing?

Certificate Needed

LD0901022492 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—"There is no doubt about the quality of British meat which arrived through humanitarian aid to Moscow on January 3," Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said at a news conference held at the request of British journalists on Wednesday [8 January].

The 118 tons of beef are in the city of Murmansk now awaiting a decision by the local veterinarian service on whether the meat is infected with spongy encephalopathy, cases of which are known to have been reported from Britain, France, Switzerland, and some other countries. No certificate stating that meat is safe has arrived from Britain to date, Gaydar said.

The beef, which is absolutely safe for people, could present certain problems for animals which might be fed on beef leftovers and thus contract the virus. That is why beef has been sent to Murmansk, where animal husbandry is relatively insubstantial, Gaydar said. Besides, urgent consultations between British and Russian veterinarians will be held which will clarify the situation within the next couple of days, Gaydar said. The Russian Government thanks Great Britain for the assistance provided, he added.

Humanitarian Aid Arrives From Finland

LD0901021992 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 8 JAn 92

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Dodonov]

[Text] Helsinki January 8 TASS—The first trucks with baby food left the Finnish city of Joensuu for Karelia, northwestern Russia, on Wednesday [8 January], the Finnish Telegraph Bureau said.

The convoy is part of the Finnish Red Cross' humanitarian aid to the Leningrad [as received] and Murmansk regions and Karelia, which will receive medicine and 2,000 tonnes of food over the next three months.

The aid will be transported by Finnish trucks, each of which will be escorted by a Finnish Red Cross official.

The Red Cross has already set up offices in Murmansk, Petrozavodsk and other cities to distribute the aid among lower income families.

Trade Representative in Austria Appointed

OW0801215092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Government has appointed Gennadiy Filshin the republic's trade representative in Austria.

G. Filshin used to be Deputy Premier in Ivan Silayev's cabinet until he was forced to resign in the wake of a scandal that the media styled "the 140-billion affair." Before the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations was closed, he worked as First Deputy Minister.

Federation Affars

Yeltsin Approves Military Allegiance Oath

PM0801230592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Military Oath of Allegiance to Russia"]

[Text] On 5 January Russian President B. Yeltsin signed a Decree "On the Text of the Military Oath of the Russian Federation."

The full text of the document reads as follows:

"I (surname, forename, patronymic), on entering military service, swear an oath of allegiance to the Russian Federation and its people.

"I swear to observe the Constitution and the laws of the Russian Federation and to carry out the requirements of military regulations, the orders of commanders and superiors, and lawfully prescribed duties.

"I swear when on military service to be honest and conscientious, to bear the difficulties associated with it in worthy fashion, and to courageously defend at the risk of my own life the people and state interests of the Russian Federation."

"I swear not to use weapons against my own people and their legally elected organs of power.

"I undertake to perform military service at any place to which the Russian Federation Government sends me on or beyond the territory of the Russian Federation and to observe the laws of the state on the territory of which I perform my military service.

"If, however, I breach my Military Oath, I am ready to accept the responsibility prescribed by the laws of the Russian Federation."

Oath Delivered to Far East

LD0901030792 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2124 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] [passage omitted] On January 8 the text of the new Russian military oath of allegiance was delivered to the Far Eastern Military District. The text of the oath was not made public until this is taken by the servicemen of the Far Eastern Military District. As long as no common language on the war conception has been found between the presidents of sovereign states of the former USSR, the publication of the text of the military oath of allegiance can lead to unpredictable consequences, declared one of the superior officers of the Far Eastern Military District.

On January 8, Colonel General Victor Novozhilov, commander in chief of the Far Eastern Military District, told PF [POSTFACTUM]: The oath of allegiance of the former USSR is invalid now. That is why the necessity of taking an oath of allegiance to the Russian president and Russian people by soldiers and officers is evident. Victor Novozhilov has told PF that he feels as if he were already a general of the Russian Army.

Novozhilov declared that on January 18-19 the celebration of taking the oath of allegiance will take place in the Far Eastern Military District. Many officers of the medium ranks in the headquarters of the Far Eastern Military District declared on January 8 to PF that they would refuse to take the Russian oath of allegiance as they are representatives of other nationalities and wish to serve to their nation and president.

Commission Set Up To Protect 'State Secrets'

OW0801203192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Yeltsin has issued a decree setting up a State Technology Commission under his control to

protect state secrets in the political, economic, scientific, technological, military and other areas against encroachment by foreign services engaged in technological intelligence. The commission will take over from its predecessor that operated in the ex-USSR.

Yuriy Yashin has been appointed acting chairman. Until the new commission's structure is approved, the former commission's staff will carry on with their duties.

Deputies Urge Yeltsin Ultimatum to Ukraine

PM0901095992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Politicians' Separatism Breaks the Unity of Peoples"]

[Text] Russian Federation People's Deputies S. Baburin, N. Pavlov, V. Serdyukov, and V. Khayryuzov have sent a letter to the Russian president.

The tragedy that the "Rossiya" deputies' group predicted back in fall of 1990 when it spoke out against the ratification of the ill-conceived bilateral agreement between the RSFSR and the Ukraine, has started, the letter affirms. The politicians' separatism is breaking the unity of our peoples and nations, destroying even our blood relationship and our spiritual relationship. Basic human rights are being violated.

In connection with the Ukrainian and Moldovan leaders' recent decisions, more and more people are becoming aware that misfortune is going to affect every family and every nook and cranny of the former USSR. But we are deeply convinced that the tragedy can still be lessened. Wisdom, strength, and resoluteness are required from politicians and from each and every citizen.

Given the attempts to seize the Black Sea Fleet from Russia and to force officers and men on the territory of certain republics, particularly in the Ukraine, to violate the oath they swore to the single motherland, the Russian National [Obshchenarodnyy] Union and the "Rossiya" deputies' group propose:

That, while enshrining the republics' jurisdiction over internal troops, the unity and indivisibility of all other branches and categories of the Armed Forces be ensured; and that their equipment be withdrawn from areas in the grip of ethnic conflicts and separatist movements.

That, in the event of the further violation of existing treaties and agreements by the present Ukrainian leadership, or the continuation of the course leading to the severance of Russian-Ukrainian unity, there be immediately denounced the 1990 bilateral treaty and all 1991 agreements in the parts where the immutability of the RSFSR-Ukrainian borders—which were arbitrarily set up by administrative and bureaucratic methods—is recognized; that the right of any area outside the Russian Federation to adopt decisions on joining Russia, including with the rights of an autonomous subject of the Russian Federation, be recognized.

That all 1954 acts on the basis of which Crimea was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] be declared anticonstitutional and invalid from the moment of adoption. That the Crimean Autonomous Republic be considered an inalienable part of the Russian Federation. Sevastopol was and must remain a city of Russian glory, and the Black Sea Fleet the pride of Russia.

While respecting the Ukraine's state independence, we stress that the Russian people have the right to self-determination to just as great an extent as any other, the authors of the letter conclude, and that multiethnic Russia will overcome the crisis despite everything and will again become a reliable home for all people irrespective of their nationality.

Security Agency Denies Mass Resignations

LD0901100292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0858 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By unidentified correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—A substantial reduction in the number of applications for voluntary lay-offs has been noticed recently in the former Federal Security Agency of Russia, a TASS correspondent was told at that organization's public relations center. This completely refutes reports in the press about the alleged mass resignations from Russian security bodies to protest the recent decree by the Russian president on the creation of the Ministry of Security and Internal Affairs.

Federal Reserve System To Be Introduced

LD0801172292 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Golovanov]

[Text] Rome January 8 TASS—"We are going to introduce a federal reserve system similar to that of the U.S.A.", Russian Central Bank Chairman Georgiy Matyukhin told Italian newspaper, CORRIERE DELLA SERA, on Wednesday [8 January]. According to Matyukhin, the independent central banks of the new Commonwealth member states will probably come to the conclusion coordination is necessary from a certain central body, something like the Federal Reserve Bank.

Matyukhin described the Russian governments' economic policies as rather flexible, although he didn't approve of some of the details. Thus, price liberalisation may not prove very useful once there is no competition

among the producers. Matyukhin said he warned Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar the government should get all the money it needs through efficient taxation rather than through appealing to the central bank for more credits.

"In January we shall launch a cheque-book system which will reduce the problem of cash for payments and salaries", Matyukhin said, "and we shall introduce 500-rouble notes in April." "We are against 1000-rouble bills as they will encourage yet another price race", Matyukhin said. According to Matyukhin, rigid fiscal policy is not the best means of rapid development. "We support the idea of developing contacts with foreign central banks and we are ready to join the International Monetary Fund as soon as there is an opportunity", Matyukhin said.

Ban on Export of Certain Goods, Food Ordered

LD0901112592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—As of 10 January, the Government of the Russian Federation is imposing a ban on the export of "consumer goods in very short supply" and "individual food products" beyond the republic's borders. This was announced in a government resolution entitled "On the Restriction of Exports of Consumer Goods From the Russian Federation" distributed by the Russian cabinet's press service.

The document, which was signed on 29 December 1991 by Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy prime minister of Russia, emphasizes that this measure is being adopted "in connection with the introduction by some of the former USSR member-states of restrictions on the export of consumer goods into the territory of the Russian Federation." The resolution does not apply to the export of consumer goods and sending of goods by mail by citizens to those members of the Commonwealth of Independent States which do not impose such restrictions with regard to the Russian Federation.

The 60-item list of goods in very short supply which citizens are banned from exporting and which may not be sent through the mail includes all basic food products, wines, liqueurs and spirits, tobacco products, fabrics, footwear, electrical goods, household electronic goods, building materials, cameras, bicycles and motorcycles, and jewelry made of precious metals. The resolution also defines limits on food products taken outside Russia's borders by citizens.

The restrictions being imposed do not extend to the contents of personal items when citizens move to a new place of residence or to postal packages addressed to homes for invalids and the elderly, children's homes, boarding schools and other social care establishments; military units; corrective labor establishments; or charity funds.

The resolution includes a number of instructions to the relevant Russian ministries and departments to ensure implementation of this decision. In particular, it orders that special checkpoints be set up for transportation and that procedures for individual inspection of citizens and their effects be developed.

Government Adviser Interviewed on Inflation

PM0801165592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 1, 5 Jan 92 p 14

[Interview with Konstantin Kagalovskiy, economic counselor to the Russian Government, by Vladimir Gurevich, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI economic desk editor; place and date not given: "Inflation: The Optimistic Version...."]

[Text] [Gurevich] The event should have taken place by the time this edition of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI comes out.. Or could there be another coordinated postponement of the price liberalization?

[Kagalovskiy] In my opinion, this is impossible.

[Gurevich] And all the republics, even those who are unwilling to do so, will be forced to liberate prices?

[Kagalovskiy] Naturally. Essentially, they will have no other option in a situation where this happens on most of the territory of the former USSR. These are generally known facts, some regions already have experience to this effect. There are bound to be some differences in prices between republics, of course, but essentially it is a question of one market, and the price levels should be essentially the same.

[Gurevich] For the time being the Commonwealth has agreed to retain the ruble as the sole currency, but despite this the Ukraine and Belarus are introducing coupons as from the New Year. How is this compatible with the Minsk agreement and the Alma-Ata declaration?

[Kagalovskiy] The Ukraine has been planning coupons for a long time in an effort to protect its market. But now I would give a different reason for this. A cash crisis has arisen. Moscow is simply unable to keep up with printing money and dispatching it to the republics. Therefore the coupons will be called upon to compensate to some extent for the shortage of cash. They are better than nothing. In general, in a crisis, technical problems assume decisive importance.

[Gurevich] The problem is that too many questions need to be answered simultaneously. For example, the government has refused to draw up the budget for the whole of 1992, since it is uncertain how prices will behave. But what is the outlook at least for the near future, how much are prices likely to "jump?"

As is known, there will be two types of prices—free prices, and controlled prices, which will apply to a list of goods which has already been published. The ceiling which has been set for increases of controlled prices

during the initial period lies between a three- and a five-fold increase. As for the free prices... Let me give you a general figure: Russia's state budget for the first quarter has been drawn up on the basis of the premise that prices, that is all prices, will increase "on average" during this time by a factor of 2.5 [as published]. The picture will differ, according to individual goods, of course, but this is what the average increase is expected to be during the initial period. It would be even lower if the government were not implementing compensatory measures (wage increases in budget-funded organizations, and so forth) which are pushing up inflation. In this case, according to my estimate, prices would not even double.

[Gurevich] And what will happen to wholesale prices, what will happen to industry?

[Kagalovskiy] Here too the prices for selected commodities will be controlled. The price of oil plays a key role. Taking into account value-added tax, its price will increase 6.5-fold. And despite this it will be too low. In general, subsidies totalling 31.5 billion rubles [R] had to be set aside in the budget for the first quarter. They will apply to coal, medicines, passenger transport, the housing and municipal sector, and among food products to milk and bread.

[Gurevich] Is the government confident that goods will really appear in stores after 2 January?

[Kagalovskiy] I believe that it will take a week, or rather they will appear in the course of the first week. I was in Poland in 1990 when the price liberalization was implemented there. That first week in January was a critical time in the Polish reform. The prices had risen, but the goods had not yet appeared. But that week was sufficient for everything to sort itself out... I even believe that we will not only see goods, but also that prices for some of them will decrease. Everyone is saying: What a nightmare, take a look at the prices in cooperative and commercial stores, what is going to happen next? But that is a narrow sector and it is a question of whipped up demand. When the bulk of the prices is liberated, these prices begin to decrease. In any case, there is nowhere for them to "jump."

I also believe that following price liberalization the market rate of the dollar will fall. It will not fall sharply, but it will go down.

[Gurevich] I very much doubt that goods to which controlled prices apply will appear, and more importantly, that they will remain on the shelves. Yet for the overwhelming majority of people these goods are the most important ones.

[Kagalovskiy] My forecast in this respect is this. The controlled prices for the aforementioned list of goods are, despite everything, increasing quite substantially. These goods are bound to show up. Even to begin with. First they will appear, and then consumer durables at free prices will appear. Television sets and refrigerators—but that may take two or three weeks. Prior to that we should see goods at controlled prices on the shelves. Although they may indeed become scarce again after six months or so.

[Gurevich] No sooner? Everyone will recall Pavlov's experience when prices also went up relatively sharply, and some goods appeared here and there, but then disappeared again very quickly.

[Kagalovskiy] This will depend on how successful the stabilization policy itself is, and to what extent the government will be able to control inflation. The stance of the Central Bank is of key importance here. Unless the bank implements a rigorous monetary and credit policy, unless it sharply raises interest rates on loans (say, by 20 percent per quarter) and unless it cooperates closely with the government on this, there will be no question of any stabilization. And the same applies to goods on store shelves. The bank and the government must work together, hand in hand, and self-evident political decisions are needed to ensure this.

[Gurevich] Let us picture the most optimistic version. If the bank really begins to implement such a policy, if it controls the money supply very strictly, if the population and enterprises do not rebel, and if in general "everything goes according to plan," what, in that case, is your forecast for inflation in 1992?

[Kagalovskiy] The optimistic forecast is as follows: After the initial upsurge of prices, inflation will total between 3 and 5 percent per month. On average, of course, there may be deviations in the course of the year.

[Gurevich] Between 3 and 5 percent? In our situation this would be remarkable. Do you believe that this is possible?

[Kagalovskiy] I believe that this optimistic version is realistic. Naturally, no one can give any guarantees, but I see enough opportunities for such a development of events. I am speaking about overt (not suppressed) inflation, where the only curb on price increases is effective demand, where there are no goods shortages, and monetary policy is implemented with a firm hand. That is the most important thing. Especially now when the government is under pressure from literally all sides, when **everyone** is asking for **individual** concessions. But this course of action must not be adopted under any circumstances. I believe that it is necessary for the president to issue a special decree depriving the government of the possibility of granting "individual" concessions, and suspending concessions which have already been granted for the duration of the stabilization period. After all, we have just adopted a very important decision—the budget for the first quarter must be deficit-free. All expenditure has been cut, all revenue has been taken into account, and a tax reform has been elaborated.

[Gurevich] Despite everything, is it realistic, given our colossal budget deficit, to try to reduce it right down to zero within a very short period?

[Kagalovskiy] These figures are realistic, they have not been plucked out of thin air.

[Gurevich] But the consequences.... What if bankruptcies of enterprises set in on a mass scale? It is obvious that this cannot be avoided, but has the force of the shock been calculated? Could it not be that the cost of retaining a small budget deficit during the initial period might be smaller?

[Kagalovskiy] In Poland they were also very afraid of mass closures of enterprises. But what is happening in actual fact is quite different. Naturally, financial difficulties do arise, but not blanket bankruptcies. Especially not straight away, not overnight, or in the first quarter...

[Gurevich] So the optimistic version is a 5-percent inflation per month. And the less favorable version?

[Kagalovich] The country can live with an inflation in the region of 10 percent per month. However, if uncertainty persists in respect of banking and credit policy, if there is no control over money supply throughout the ruble zone, we may end up with what is described as "high inflation" [vysokaya inflatsiya].

[Gurevich] Some people are forecasting that hyperinflation will set in early in the new year.

[Kagalovskiy] Hyperinflation—that is more than 50 percent per month. We do not yet have this in our country, and I very much hope that it does not happen.

Uniform Procedures Planned for Exports, Imports

LD0901034292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2122 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The Russian Federation Government is expected in the nearest future to approve a uniform procedure of licensing and quotas for export and import of goods in the territory of Russia. In accordance with the draft of the corresponding decision of the Russian Government, the issue of licenses for export and import of goods (work, services) is to be performed by regional representatives of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. Licenses will be issued on the basis of quotas prescribed by the Ministry of Economy and Finances of the Russian Federation and will be distributed by different ministries and departments.

Export quotas are to be confirmed by certificates owners of which will have the right to obtain licenses. Free sale of certificates is allowed. The certificates are subdivided into country certificates (were the country of the buyer is specifically stipulated) and open certificates. The duration of a certificate is limited by three months. Licenses are to be issued to the owners of certificates against presentation of agreements for delivery of goods and signed export contracts. Applicants may be issued a single transaction license or general licenses—for the duration of one year. The decision concerning the issue of a license is to be made not later than 10 days after the submission of the application. It is envisaged to start the issue of certificates from February 1, 1992.

The draft envisages that the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Russian Federation would organize, starting February 15 of this year, the auction sale of export quotas for second-fourth quarters of this year. The customs authorities will be assigned the task of overall control over the export of goods against licenses. Owners of transportation vehicles who perform carriage of the goods without permission of the customs authorities will be fined in the amount equal to the market price of the goods.

Status of Merchant Marine Examined

LD0901122292 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS analyst Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Russia again has its own merchant marine. Its three-colour flag is being hoisted on ships that have been placed under its jurisdiction. The Russian fleet now includes about 800 ships. Their deadweight exceeds 11 million tonnes. The republic has three ports on the Baltic Sea and a shipping administration in St. Petersburg, two ports on the Black Sea and the Novorossiisk shipping administration, as well as the Murmansk and far-eastern shipping companies.

"We hope to restore Russia's fame as a great shipping nation," director of the marine transport department under the Russian Transport Ministry, First Deputy Minister Gennadiy Gerasimchuk told TASS. "Slightly more than 50 per cent of the former USSR's fleet remained in Russian hands after the Union's collapse. This cannot meet the republic's requirements."

The republics and the country were confronted at the end of last year with the danger of all export and import shipments being discontinued. The debt to shipping companies and ports exceeded one billion hard roubles on November 1, 1991. The debt is being repaid very slowly. Almost 50 per cent of the debt for freight carriages passed over to the Russian shipping companies," Gerasimchuk said. [quotation marks as received]

According to the deputy minister, in 1990 the merchant marine yielded a profit of 2.5 billion hard roubles to the country. It had 17 shipping companies and two societies in 1991. At the end of the year Russia was left with only nine shipping companies and one society.

Official Opposes Disbanding Prosecutor's Office

LD0901023992 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By CRIME-PRESS-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Dzhibutiy]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—The new Commonwealth of Independent States should have a coordinating legal body like the former Soviet public prosecutor's office, a senior Russian investigator maintains.

Yevgeniy Miyslovskiy, president of the "Antimafia" fund, believes the Soviet procurator's office should not have been disbanded. "It was a serious mistake," he told CRIME-PRESS on Wednesday [8 January].

The Russian parliament can make another blunder, as "talks to disband the Russian public prosecutor's office are now heard among parliamentarians, Miyslovskiy said. "None of the CIS member-states has made a similar move towards its main body of legal control," he added.

A group of Russian deputies want to diminish the role of the prosecutor's office, as its activities do not suit everybody, according to the senior investigator. Many local leaders violate law by their decisions and the prosecutors are "a bone in their throat," he said.

Some of the deputies suggest that courts should be vested with the authority of the prosecutor's office. But courts today are unable to close many criminal hearings because of lack of people's assessors (assistants to judges). The paralysis of both courts and the prosecutor's office will trigger off a new wave of crime, Miyslovskiy said.

The senior investigator did not exclude a possibility that political ambitions lead to the demands to disband the prosecutor's office. The author of the far-fledged legal reform is Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov, who "most of his life used to teach scientific communism instead of engaging in practical legal work," Miyslovskiy said.

It is impossible to carry out legal reform according to Western schemes, the investigator holds. "There are neither material no manpower resources for the experiment," he said.

Abolished Government Commissions Listed

PM0801155092 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "By Government Resolution"]

[Text] In connection with the reorganization of central organs of state administration of the RSFSR in accordance with Decree No. 242 of the RSFSR President, 28 November 1991, the RSFSR Government has abolished: The RSFSR Council of Ministers Commission on Aid to Refugees and People Forced To Resettle; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Commission on Scientific and Technical Progress; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Commission on the Development of Science and Information Technology; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Commission for the Conservation and Rational Utilization of the Natural Resources of the Lake Baykal Basin; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Commission on Emergencies; the RSFSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform; the Commission for Setting Personal Pensions under the RSFSR Council of Ministers; the Commission for Questions of Accident Prevention under the RSFSR Council of Ministers; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of the Construction, Restoration, and Commissioning of Facilities in Regions of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Affected by the Earthquake; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of the Construction and Economic Exploitation of the Baykal-Amur Railroad Zone; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of Consumer Goods Production and Delivery; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of the Development of Trade, the Sphere of Paid Services, and Cooperatives; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of Economic Ties With Foreign Countries; the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Combating Hoof-and-Mouth Disease; the Innovations Council under the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; the Coordination Council for the Resolution of Urgent National Economic Questions under the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; the Republic Currency Commission under the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; the All-Russian Coordinating Council for Young People's Scientific and Technical Creativity; the Coordination Council for the Formulation and Implementation of a Program for the Demographic Development of the RSFSR; and the Republic Interdepartmental Commission for Saving and Ensuring Rational Utilization of Material Resources.

Need for Russian Space Agency Discussed

PM0901110992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 5 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Report by V. Skvortsov and S. Murazov]

[Text] [Announcer] It is already known that the Commonwealth of Independent States intends to conduct joint space research, but neither the Ukraine nor Moldova is hurrying to invest resources in the space program. Meanwhile, the money is running out and certain estimates claim that by spring there will be nothing left.

[Skvortsov] Of course, nobody is surprised at the report that our space program is also on the brink of crisis. Conversion dealt the first blow—it was the military which accounted for 60 percent of the orders received by the space industry. Last year this sector's budget allocations dropped by 700 million rubles—programs are being canceled, enterprises are closing, and specialists are leaving. Some experts believe that within three or four months this sector could cease to exist altogether. Russia bears the main burden of financing the 7 billion [currency unspecified] space program. So it is no surprise

that Russians have little confidence in the Minsk agreement on the joint exploitation of space.

[S. Zhukov, member of the Working Group for Cooperation in Space] The main thing for Russia now is to create a Russian space agency. Eighty percent of the former Union's space scientific research and industry is based in Russia.

[Skvortsov] It would be a crying shame if we lose one of the few things which our country really can claim to have developed to world standards.

Poll on Citizenship, Price Control Conducted

OW0901085792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0820 GMT 9 Jan 92

[From "Viewpoint"—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Data News agency, a January opinion poll by the National Public Opinion Studies Center among 1009 respondents in 13 Russian cities showed that 48% of those polled would prefer to have the Russian citizenship.

1 in 5 expressed willingness to be a citizen of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

To 25% the question of citizenship did not matter.

7% found it difficult to answer.

Margin of error—3%.

Choosing the Lesser of Two Evils

49% of participants in the same poll acknowledged that after the lifting of price controls January 2, their main concern has been high prices, not shortages of goods.

35% see the main evil in shortages of goods, not in high prices.

17% have not yet decided what is worse—high prices or shortages.

Margin of error—3%.

Impact of Gorbachev Departure Viewed

PM0801143292 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 1, 5 Jan 92 p 5

[Article by observer Lyudmila Telen: "Yeltsin Minus Gorbachev"]

[Text] At one time, the resignation of Politburo candidate member Yeltsin—who would have thought it?—became a factor in the career of General Secretary Gorbachev. Four years on, all this is repeating itself, but as a mirror image: This time, Gorbachev's resignation looks set to determine Yeltsin's fate. The relative positions of these "stars" will go on influencing the political climate of the former USSR for a long time to come.

For Yeltsin, unlike Gorbachev, the past year was a year of triumph. Not only did he become the first nationally elected president of Russia, but he was able to confirm his unconditional right to this post in the dramatic days of the August coup. Probably no contemporary political leader has had such powerful support from the people at the commencement of reforms. However, since August, time has ceased to be on Yeltsin's side. And from December, it seems, the danger of running out of political time is beginning to grow.

The center and its leader were until recently a kind of Mannerheim Line for the new authorities, absorbing the shock waves of social explosions and upheavals. This line of defense no longer exists. Gorbachev has gone, and Yeltsin has inherited not only his Kremlin office, but also the inescapable burden of operating without an insurance policy. However, Yeltsin's position is even more dangerous than that of his political rival once was. People did not expect of Gorbachev even half of what he did. They expect 100 times more of Yeltsin than he can possibly do. Meanwhile society's reserves of patience have not merely declined, but have apparently been drained to the very last drop. And in this respect, whether the present number one leader likes it or not, he will have to honor his predecessor's promises.

With Gorbachev's departure the disposition of political figures on the map of the former Union changes. Yeltsin, governing the biggest and richest republic and moreover having control of the nuclear button and the printing presses (which feed all those who are now independent with rubles), objectively becomes the "central" president for the community. And now it is he who will have to take reproaches for economic and other kinds of diktat (which has already been seen, incidentally, at parliamentary debates in the Ukraine). As well as acting as a buffer between seekers after the utmost independence, such as the Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan, on the one hand, and the partners that are more inclined toward integration, on the other.

Only recently Yeltsin used to resolve his problems with the republic leaders if not actually through the mediation of the USSR president, at least in that context. In that situation both Gorbachev and the other presidents, who had no real power at that time, were entirely predictable. But now Boris Yeltsin is face to face with 10 plenipotentiary leaders each of whom is playing his own political game. Here there are no general rules like those that used to ensure the absolutely monolithic nature of the Politburo or even the comparative unity of Gorbachev's State Council. And Leonid Kravchuk's actions, which fit in poorly with the Minsk accords, are only the first evidence of this, and certainly not the last.

Gorbachev has gone, and now they are demanding from Yeltsin what they used to seek, with greater or lesser success, from the ex-president. The separation of powers, strict observance of the Constitution, guaranteed freedom of the press, equal rights for the opposition.

What was formerly attributed to the front-line conditions in which the White House was forced to operate, will now be called for under peacetime laws.

By leaving the Kremlin, Gorbachev "put the kibosh" on a long list of political methods and tactics that had been exploited, and with success, by the Russian leader. What used to work unfailingly for Yeltsin with the former distribution of forces is now becoming useless at best. In a period of reforms, fatherly concern turns into populism. Destructive energy is damaging when there is nothing left to destroy. "Sturm und Drang" are unacceptable in relations with the equal presidents of contiguous states. Bluntness is dangerous in dialogue with the opposition... Yeltsin therefore needs a new political currency, or else the capital he has accumulated in recent years will melt away without really starting to work seriously. If he does not recognize this, Russia's leader runs far more of a risk than ever before: Gorbachev's departure from the political scene could turn out to be the prelude to Yeltsin's departure.

...Early in the morning of 27 December, Boris Yeltsin took over Mikhail Gorbachev's office. Apparently this time the Russian president has gained the upper hand over the former Union president.

But which of them is to be congratulated? Which is to be condoled with?...

Christian Democratic Movement Aide Cited

PM0801152992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with G.A. Anishchenko, cochairman of Duma of Russian Christian Democratic Movement, by correspondent Valentina Nikiforova; place and date not given: "Path to Truth, or What Christian Democrats Are Campaign For"—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The multiparty system has become a reality. Meeting readers' wishes, the editorial office gives the floor to representatives of various parties and movements so that they can speak about the ideological positions, aims, and tasks of their political organizations.

Today our correspondent talks with the publicist and writer G. Anishchenko, one of the cochairmen of the Duma of the Russian Christian Democratic Movement [RCDM].

[Nikiforova] Gleb Aleksandrovich, when and how did your movement come into being, and what is it like on an organizational plane?

[Anishchenko] Keeping to chronological order, it has to be said that at first various Christian initiatives existed—educational, cultural, political. Publication of the literary-philosophical journal of Russian Christian culture VYBOR began in 1987, and it became a consolidating force. The newspaper PUT also appears now.

Last year a political party—the RCDM—was created on the basis of all these initiatives and has now been registered. An officially registered movement of the same name is now being formed around it. It includes youth organizations, a publishing house, the "Kovcheg" Christian Theater, etc. The party and the movement are headed by the Duma, which has three cochairmen—in addition to myself there are also People's Deputies Viktor Aksyuchits and Vyacheslav Polosin, the latter being a priest.

[Nikiforova] What are the movement's ideological positions?

[Anishchenko] Since I am granting an interview to PRAVDA, I consider it necessary to say openly that we have consistently opposed communist ideology right from the beginning. But this should on no account be understood as a struggle against Communists.

We advocate people's unification on the basis of enlightened patriotism. We believe that the path to unification goes by way of a return to our traditional roots. And these roots are Christian. The Russian nation and Russia in general are inconceivable without Christianity.

[Nikiforova] What are the party's relations with the church and with religion?

[Anishchenko] I had occasion to work in the group of deputies who drew up the Russian law on religions. And it was precisely deputies from the Christian Democratic Movement who championed the point which forbids the church from supporting political parties, because this could lead to catastrophic consequences.

[Nikiforova] It is now possible to understand with no particular difficulty whom Aleksiy II, patriarch of all Rus, supports and toward whom Metropolitan Pitirim inclines.

[Anishchenko] As a private person, each of them can support whomever he wishes. But the church as an organization, as a unified force, does not have the right to support any party. I will not dwell on why this is impossible from the viewpoint of religion. I will concentrate on politics. Imagine that two parties come to the fore in the state—one Orthodox, the other Islamic. Each of them is supported by the clergy. They will not attempt to moderate the political struggle but will themselves raise political banners and kindle passions—may God not grant us such a life! With the help of the law we must insure society against a split, against confrontation.

Atheist deputies were amazed: What are you doing? Why are you going against yourselves? No, we are not against ourselves or against the church. But we are a political party and, as politicians, are obliged to ensure the freedom of the church and to safeguard its rights legislatively.

[Nikiforova] That is, in a rule-of-law state everyone must mind his own business: clergymen deal with religious matters, politicians with political matters...

[Anishchenko] I was asked this question on Moscow radio: What is your party doing to save the human soul? I replied: It is not doing anything, because the party by its nature does not deal with the soul. The human soul comes under religion, not the party. We must get accustomed to the fact that the church has its own exclusively religious tasks and its own aspirations. On the social plane it can support not the party but what this party offers its economic program, for example, or charitable measures.

The movement is another matter—broader than the party. It unites many cultural and religious initiatives, including ones that are officially part of the Orthodox Church. RCDM members may participate in them as private persons. I, for example, am deputy chairman of the "Voskreseniye" Orthodox Fraternity, which is involved in charity and partly in production. But there I am a private person, not a representative of the party.

It was dinned into us that everything in our country is connected with politics—politics wherever you look. If I write an article about some artist, from the viewpoint of the previous ideology this is "politics." No, let art mind its own business, and politics likewise. We must really learn to separate economics, politics, and religion. Only then will we really be able to exist.

It has to be said that Christian Democrats in the world correlate differently with religion. In Scandinavian countries or Poland, for example, they are very religious and are linked directly with the church, while in Germany these ties are weaker.

Our party has a closer link with religion, because the very creation of the party was founded on the process that we now consider most important—a national-religious revival has now been under way in the country for approximately 30 years.

[Nikiforova] The party's members might have different viewpoints, different views on certain questions. These views could be irreconcilable. What then—a religious-party war?

[Anishchenko] The RCDM has united very diverse trends. When other organizations were splitting and falling apart, we managed to keep people with different viewpoints. Both those who regard the word "Democratic" as the chief thing in the movement's name and those for whom "Christian" is more important. We have managed without major splits, although it can be difficult and sometimes even impossible to reconcile different viewpoints.

Father Gleb Yakunin, for example, opposed the fact that we supported the signing of the Union Treaty and opposed the creation of our party's Union structure. In general, he takes a separatist stand on the question of the state system. He quit our party not so long ago.

[Nikiforova] How do the movement and the party cooperate, and what is their membership?

[Anishchenko] The party unites 9,000-10,000 people, while the movement is broader. It deals with nonpolitical questions, and approximately 17,000 people participate in it. There is not yet a clear-cut line between the party's members and the participants in the movement. Our organizations have been set up in 150 cities, and they also exist in Ukraine and in a number of other republics. We have our own corps of deputies—15 RSFSR deputies—and they all belong to the "Rossiyskiy Soyuz" group. There are quite a lot of local soviet deputies. Two RCDM members have now been appointed governors—in Nizhniy Novgorod and Tula.

[Anishchenko] Our party is one of seven parties that founded the "Democratic Russia" movement. But our relations with this movement's leaders have now deteriorated to the maximum degree. "Democratic Russia" emerged as a coalition of parties, movements, and groups that fought against the monopoly of the CPSU and the nomenklatura. This task has practically been resolved. But the left-wing liberal group headed by Yuriy Afanasyev and certain other groups wanted to make some kind of a superparty out of "Democratic Russia" from the outset and are now trying to do so. The RCDM is categorically opposed to this; we joined a coalition, but we will not agree to join some kind of different party.

Not so long ago, some of the radical leaders insisted that "Democratic Russia" join the "Democratic Congress"—an organization that is totally alien to us—without taking into consideration the opinion of the parties that belong to the movement.

[Nikiforova] And whom does this congress bring together?

[Anishchenko] Its participants include mainly national-totalitarian forces from the former republics. Three parties that did not want to join the "Democratic Congress" created the "People's Accord" bloc: The Democratic Party of Russia, headed by Nikolay Travkin, the Cadet party People's Freedom, headed by RSFSR People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev, and our RCDM joined it.

[Nikiforova] Gleb Aleksandrovich, which strata is your party based on?

[Anishchenko] I would not say that our party has some narrow social stratum as a social prop—many people are attracted to Christianity because of its positive foundation. For example, during our visit to Germany we received an unexpected invitation, outside the framework of our program, from the command of the Western Group of Forces in Berlin, and we met with the command personnel. It turns out that the military is interested in our party.

[Nikiforova] And what are your relations with the organs of state power?

[Anishchenko] Together with other democratic parties, we signed an agreement supporting the Russian president's reforms, but our party reserves the right to be opposed to executive power on certain questions.

[Nikiforova] And what is your reaction to the ban on the CPSU and the seizure of its property?

[Anishchenko] PRAVDA readers will probably not like my personal position because I consistently support the idea of legal proceedings. My work on this subject has been published both in Russia and abroad, particularly the article "Do We Need a Nuremberg Trial in Moscow?" Now too I believe that we need a court examination of the CPSU's activity.

It cannot be permitted that a party or a newspaper be banned without a trial and without any legal basis. I see the ban on PRAVDA in August as Yeltsin's emotional reaction following the putsch; after all there was no legal basis for this. If newspapers are going to be shut down and parties banned and stripped of their property without a court examination, then we will not be able to construct a rule-of-law state.

The fear of proceedings against the CPSU is evoked by the fact that we have all become accustomed to the barbaric tradition that criminal proceedings necessarily involve guards with submachine guns, barbed wire, and the death sentence. But in fact legal proceedings should serve to ascertain the truth: to punish the criminals or vindicate the innocent. And a court decision to ban the CPSU and confiscate its property could even have averted any arbitrary acts against this party.

[Nikiforova] I think you are well aware of how difficult it would be for millions of honest Communists to imagine themselves in court.

[Anishchenko] Of course I am. But there is simply no other solution. I advise PRAVDA readers to deal calmly with the complex situation. So, the CPSU has been banned and its property has been seized. But, all in all, instead of one monopoly, we now have another monopoly. After the putsch, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, whom I respect, publicly stated that CPSU property would be channeled into the development of a multiparty system. In actual fact, I do not know of a single party that has received anything of the CPSU's property.

To be precise, the Movement for Democratic Reforms received the lion's share of what was confiscated. But in reality there is no such organization! And Travkin's 50,000-strong party, for example, did not receive anything. And our party has been forced to go from pillar to post.

The same can be said of the monopoly of the mass media. Let me cite the following example. Some time ago, a letter from 10 political figures appeared in the press—signed by Yuriy Afanasyev, Yelena Bonner, and Lev Batkin among others—on the fate of the former Union. The letter reflected the separatist tendencies inherent in a certain part of the intelligentsia. Another group of politicians and famous cultural figures, including Dmitriy Likhachev and Sergey Zalygin (this letter was also signed by our party leaders, including myself), prepared an answer and expounded its viewpoint. And we came up against a brick wall. IZVESTIYA answered that it was a good letter but that it would cause a "chauvinist explosion." KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA only agreed to print part of it. After much to-ing and fro-ing it was only in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that we managed to publish the full text of the letter.

[Nikiforova] You said that 15 members of your party and participants of the RCDM were elected Russian parliamentary deputies. What problems are they resolving?

[Anishchenko] I believe the RCDM is one of the few parties that not only writes programs but insistently strives to implement them. A year ago our constituent congress adopted a program that has already been practically implemented. Our parliamentary group has worked very effectively. The Committee for Freedom of Conscience, Religion, and Charitable and Philanthropic Work was formed on its initiative.

Our deputies' group prepared the law on freedom of religion. The next act was establishing Christmas as a holiday. Material has now been elaborated to change the Penal Code in connection with the new law on freedom of conscience. What is at stake here? We must urgently review the old laws and adopt new ones. For example. We have opened Sunday schools, but by law, criminal proceedings could be instituted against any priest who teaches in them because the relevant article of the Penal Code has still not been repealed. Or, for instance, the Constitution forbids inflaming hostility on religious grounds, whereas the Penal Code makes no mention of this. This activity is seemingly forbidden, but there is no provision for legal responsibility for it.

Next in line is the elaboration and adoption of a law on restoring the church's property....

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin on Tour of Federation's Volga Region

Reform, Germans Viewed in Saratov

LD0801191592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1711 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Correspondent Igor Deryugin report from Saratov]

[Text] As you know from the news bulletin that has just ended and from other reports, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, is now touring Russian oblasts. Today he arrived in Saratov. Correspondent Igor Deryugin, who is on the air, speaks about the stay of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. Please, Igor, you are on the air.

[Deryugin] Yes, the Russian president's tour of the republic has started in Saratov, a town which he promised to visit during his election campaign. His stay here started with a visit to the Osinovskiy state farm, Engelskiy rayon. Here the Russian president met villagers who greeted him with an onslaught of questions. Properly speaking, there were two main questions: When life will become at least a little bit easier, and about the president's attitude to possible German autonomy on the Volga. Here is a recording.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin, broadcast in progress] ...a trip to the Volga region since you have not been spoiled by the administration; one is always flying over the Volga region to places farther away. One should get to know how people live in Saratov, Ulyanovsk, or Nizhniy Novgorod, what problems there are. Of course, there are common problems, but there are specific problems, too, judging by the slogans. This is the first thing.

The second thing is to talk with people, to meet with people here in the countryside and at factories, to exchange views. You may voice criticism of what is, perhaps, wrong in our actions. For my part, I will not refrain, either, and by all means will voice my remarks if there are any. The fact that you take two years to prepare documents for land is simply a shame, I would say, simply a shame! The fact that your food prices are today higher than in Moscow is impermissible. You cannot blame the president for the fact that you have increased them by 150 rubles [R]. This is not the president's business. This is the responsibility of the local authorities. [words indistinct]

Furthermore, it is a difficult time for us and we are going through, perhaps, the most difficult times since the war, the most difficult times. However, we have broken the neck of that dragon; we have abolished that bureaucracy numbering hundreds and hundreds of thousands, almost 12 million. That is, Russia has become independent, Russia can go freely along the path that its people want, so to speak. Furthermore, people, enterprises, state farms, and peasant holdings have been given freedom. We are implementing economic reform. For seven years the Union leadership was unable to decide on unpopular steps without which not a single country in the world has managed, that is, without freeing prices and entering the market. Not a single country! Now we have 13 market specialists from around the world working on a permanent contractual basis in our country. We are heeding their views, too. It is not that we act upon their instructions but we consult them, sometimes, regarding our own ideas, decrees, law, and so on. And they are saying: No way, it is unavoidable.

Yes, it has turned out that privatization—and it should have been implemented before—and the freeing of prices are taking place at the same time. Of course, it is expensive for people and very hard, of course. We understand this. At the same time, however, all countries passed through this and it took them about three months. After that the curve of rising prices leveled out, and then prices began to fall.

That is how long we expect it to take. I think that times will be hard for six or eight months. However, if anyone believes that only the president can fill the empty pans, finding the food somewhere, they are mistaken. Only together can we do it, only together. I trust in you, and you have to trust in your president. We will get through this. I am not talking about a radiant, communist-type future after the year 2050. I am not talking about that, but what I do think is that there will be a stabilization by the end of 1992. I think that is the first point.

Next, concerning the Germans. I can make the following authoritative statement—Where's the TV camera? Focus in on me, I'm making an authoritative statement! (?We're on), best behavior, everyone!—in places that are not densely populated with Germans, the Volga Germans, in other words in places where they are not the overwhelming majority, there will be no autonomy. As president, I am guaranteeing this. It is another matter if Marshal Shaposhnikov wants to hand over a 30,000 hectares of military range that is standing idle in Volgogard Oblast and they are settled there, for instance. Let them cultivate this land that is full of shells! Yes, and Germany will help them.

Perhaps in the future there may be some sort of oblast or some sort of national region for Volga Germans there, but only where there are 90 percent of Germans. In your case, however, the majority are Russians. That is the first point. You have at least 50 nationalities living and working here on your farm alone. What question can there be of Volga German autonomy in your case, on your territory? Not a single house will be pulled down anywhere for the sake of the Volga Germans. I also guarantee that. Bear that in mind, and tell everyone about it. And do not muddy the waters over this. Do not incite one another.

[Unidentified speaker] Boris Nikolayevich, excuse me for interrupting, but if such a statement had been made before, there would not have been this wave of feeling, believe me.

[Yeltsin] I did not expect there to be such a wave, but given that there is this wave, I am replying without delay. I am making an authoritative statement. [end recording]

[Deryugin] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin then visited one of the region's biggest enterprises, the Saratov generating set production association. He took a look, not just at its production capacities, but also at its social infrastructure. Tthe trip ended with a meeting with the oblast leadership at the oblast executive committee. The press was admitted for just 10 or 15 minutes, unfortunately. The discussion was about the difficult situation that has arisen in our oblast which is made all the worse by the fact that the head of the oblast administration has not yet been appointed. [passage indistinct]

Further Remarks in Saratov

LD0801190192 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Over the next three days news bulletins will be featuring the names of three Volga towns: Saratov, Ulyanovsk, and Nizhniy Novgorod. Today Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, has set out on a tour of the republic, the first one this year, to see for himself and to weigh up the state of affairs there. Saratov was his first stop.

[Correspondent O. Shommera] [Video shows coat of arms] This is the town's coat of arms. For those who do not know, it pictures three little sturgeons. Not every old inhabitant would even remember the times when sturgeons used to inhabit this area of the Volga river. [passage omitted] Hopes are being pinned on reform, on the producer and the free entrepreneur.

How to untie his hands and to make him a full-fledged master of his land—that is what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin discussed with the lease holders, farmers of the Osinovskiy state farm. The president's stay in Saratov Oblast began with the visit of this farm. It has incidentally become a joint stock company with every worker owning his share of it.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] For seven years no one dared to opt for this reform and go for the market with price liberalization to boot. No one wanted to venture. [someone next to Yeltsin makes inaudible remark] Yes. We have simply wasted... [changes thought] If we had attempted it two or three years ago we would have have a normal life now. And that is the end of it. Of course, there is no cause for applause in this respect. That is quite understandable. When I was on a tour before the presidential elections, then there was applause. Now there is no more applause, and I understand this. I have staked my prestige on this, as it were. But that is not the point. It is not a matter of my personality.

Many countries in the world went over to market relations and every one of them had to go through price liberalization. It is a different matter when prices are free. The textbook formula says that we were supposed to carry out privatization first, but we have no time. We are running so late. We have had to fight for 18 months with the center, until it was fully destroyed. Can you imagine that you have now stopped feeding hundreds of thousands of the Union's bureaucrats. You see! All the ministries have been abolished. So has the central power. We have stopped feeding them. That is the first thing. The path has already been cleared for us. The mine field has been cleared of mines.

If some people believe that it is only up to the president to find food from somewhere and to fill empty saucepans, then they are wrong. We can only do it together. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Protesters Oppose German Region

LD0801162792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Sergey Ryabkin and Viktor Yakovlev]

[Text] Saratov (Volga Region) 8 Jan (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin advocates the reestablishment of the autonomous region of Volga Germans. The president of Russia stated this today during his visit to Osinovskiy State Farm in Engels Rayon in Saratov Oblast. Yeltsin arrived in Saratov today as part of his tour which has just begun round the Republic. The itinerary also includes two other towns on the Volga—Ulyanovsk and Nizhniy Novgorod.

At the same time the president stressed that "the autonomous region can be restored only in regions which will have concentrations of not less than 90 percent Russian Germans living in them." "Places populated with representatives of other nationalities not wishing to belong to such a formation will not be included in the autonomous region," Yeltsin said, clarifying his position.

The Autonomous Republic of Volga Germans existed up to the year 1941 when it was liquidated on Stalin's instructions. The problem is that the area of the former autonomous region has, in the course of half a century, been settled by people for whom these areas are now their native lands. The local population is giving a cautious reception, to put it mildly, to the idea of the restoration of the German Autonomous Region. So the workers of the state farm met the president of Russia with placards saying "Germans—yes, autonomy—no." Yeltsin also said that vacant lands, especially the vast territories of the local military testing ground, could be the initial area of settlement.

Visits Refrigerator Factory

LD0801215192 Moscow Teleradiokompanii Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Video report by Correspondent O. Shommer; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] This afternoon Yeltsin visited the Saratov Electrical Tool Production Association. The Saratov refrigerators, well-known to everybody, are produced here. Far from decreasing the output, the factory has even increased it recently, not a typical case for us today, one must admit. This is a result of conversion. Until recently 70 percent of the Association's output was made up of military orders while 30 percent accounted for consumer goods. Now the correlation has reversed. Besides, the collective has become a co-owner of the factory.

During meetings with workers, specialists, and the administration the president learned about the way new

forms of economic activity help in solving social programs. For example, up to 300 families receive new apartments here annually. The machine-builders have started earning a worthy living and do not wait for help from anywhere. This is, perhaps, the main and inspiring result of market reforms. The president spoke about the need to implement them as soon as possible when he addressed town residents a few hours before flying to Ulyanovsk.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] This trip is taking place at, perhaps, one of the most difficult moments in our Russian history but precisely at this point in time one should really get to know people's moods. No doubt the moods are gloomy, no doubt, unpopular measures have been adopted now but we have no other option. The entire world and our specialists and economists are saying that there is no other option. Either we completely fall into the mire or we manage to stabilize the situation and circumstances by the end of this year and people's lives will start improving.

Meets Saratov Oblast Leaders

LD0801233492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Excerpts] On 8 January, Boris Yeltsin began a working visit to towns in Russia: The first was Saratov. [passage omitted] Toward the end of his visit he held a meeting with the leadership of the oblast, which took place behind closed doors. Later, on the same day, the president arrived in Ulyanovsk.

Saratov Visit Detailed

PM0901091792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 92 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Oleg Zlobin report: "The Time for Applause Is Over. It Is Time To Start Work"]

[Text] Saratov—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin began a working visit to cities of the Volga region yesterday.

The capital of the Volga region is now going through difficult times. The freeing of prices which has started, although not unxpected, has nevertheless caused a shock to many. Just prior to the arrival of the Russian head of state, prices in Saratov stores reached record heights. The people of the Volga region, who are not spoiled for visits by state figures, awaited the president with hope and concern—their own president, I would stress, since the overwhelming majority of people in Saratov voted for Boris Yeltsin in July.

"I realize that the time for applause has now past," Boris Yeltsin told Saratov journalists when he met them at the airport. "We have been forced to take the most painful measure, a measure which the leaders of the country could not bring themselves to do for many years. I ask you to trust your president. I am convinced that the situation will soon improve."

Incidentally, early in the morning, just prior to the meeting with the president, your correspondent specially looked into the food store nearest to the correspondents' center and asked about prices. Some astronomical figures have indeed come down. For example, butter, which was at 170 rubles per kilogram, is now 148. And this is in no way reflects a desire to pander to the political situation, the assistants assured me. The market is inexorably lowering prices.

The president's first acquaintance with Saratov began with the Volga steppe village of Lipovka, situated 60 kilometers from the city of Engels, formerly Pokrovsk. Boris Nikolayevich met with workers at the "Osinovskiy" Sovkhoz. Until quite recently this low-profitmaking farm had virtually nil prospects, being a resolute "stretcher" case. However, today, having become a joint-stock company, yesterday's sovkhoz can look to the future with confidence. The farm's plans include the construction of a brick plant, the modernization of a dairy plant, and the construction of its own meat-processing complex. All this is the result of the skillful attraction of investment, including foreign investment, and energetic cooperation with private businessmen.

But not everything runs so smoothly on this farm. The private farmers, and there are now two dozen of them at "Osinovskiy," voiced their anxiety to the president. It is the same anxiety everywhere: There is no equipment, land, or money. Viktor Del, leader of an association of nine private farms—another recent development here—has been unable to obtain credits as yet! And yet, by decision of the president, there should be no delay here. But at local level the private farmers have to go through purgatory in order to work normally. Despite the fact that in terms of the number of peasant and private farms Saratov Oblast has far outstripped its neighbors, the people of Saratov's many problems remain unresolved.

The families of Germans, Russians, and many other nationalities work side by side at "Osinovskiy." This territory was once within the boundaries of the former German autonomous formation. Unfortunately, Boris Yeltsin said in response to local inhabitants, some people find it very advantageous to artificially whip up the national problem, as if this were the chief concern today and other problems did not exist.

It is absolutely necessary to respect historical justice regarding this illegally repressed people, the president stressed. But everyone living here should feel and be able to work on Volga soil with peace of mind, to take land into private ownership, and to pass it on by inheritance. People should become real masters of the land. That is the objective of the Russian reforms. No one intends to get rid of anyone or drive anyone out. Let German families boldly return to their native Volga region. They are being provided with facilities. There will be enough land here for all. The main thing, the president stressed during conversation, is to set the economy up, then life itself will suggest the best solutions.

Boris Yeltsin also visited one of the oblast's biggest defense enterprises—the Saratov Electric Generator Production Association, which is known throughout the country for its peaceful, civilian output—the "Saratov" refrigerator. This enterprise is noteworthy in that one year back it was one of the first to be transferred by resolution of the former USSR Council of Ministers into the ownership of the labor collective. Part of the assets were tranferred to the Saratov plant workers free of charge, the rest is being purchased in instalments at residual value. As experience has shown, this is one of the few ways currently existing to effectively destatize major production facilities.

The main goal of Yeltsin's working visit, as he repeatedly stressed, is especially to get to know the state of affairs at local level with the liberalization of prices and privatization under way in Russia. It is no accident that Saratov Oblast was the first in Boris Yeltsin's itinerary of trips around the country. Saratov, long an inhabitant of the "stagnation" zone, a closed and restricted city with enormous defense industry potential, is now switching painfully over to the market. Just before the new year local economic managers were forced to note the discomforting fact that output of foodstuffs and commodities had fallen sharply. Lengthening waiting lines were, alas, a sign of Christmas.

Not only the objective difficulties of Saratov Oblast, one of the few oblasts where there has not yet been a presidentially-appointed head of administration, have played a part here. The struggle for power and the confrontation of individual groups, sometimes becoming ridiculous and just producing a sense of bitterness in the inhabitants of the city, have stymied the normal operation of the economic mechanism. It was impossible to remain in such an executive power vaccuum. That is why a decision by Yeltsin to appoint an oblast administration chief has been awaited with impatience by the people of Saratov.

The president's visit ended late evening. The next port of call on the itinerary is Ulyanovsk.

Ulyanovsk Visit Previewed

LD0801212192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2024 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Nikolay Milov]

[Text] Ulyanovsk, 8 Jan (TASS)—"The reason for the visit to Saratov, Ulyanovsk and Nizhniy Novgorod," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said, "is that previously the leadership failed to pay any attention to the towns of the Volga region. At the present time, which is a very difficult one for us, it is important to know what is facing the people of Ulyanovsk, what problems they have, and what claims they have on the president, the government, and the Supreme Soviet, what proposals they have, and what corrections can be made to our reform".

Tomorrow will be taken up by a discussion of problems of concern to the Russian leadership and the people of Ulyanovsk Oblast.

Arrives in Ulyanovsk

LD0801201692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Report by correspondent Yuliy Kolyukov from Ulyanovsk]

[Excerpts] At about 2030 today Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin arrived in Ulyanovsk from Saratov. At the steps of the plane he was welcomed by leaders of the oblast and town and a large number of correspondents. When questioned about his mood on coming to Ulyanovsk, the president replied that this was a working visit and that, so far, it was difficult to guess how it would go. For instance, in Saratov, as Boris Nikolayevich said with a smile, he was expecting to be pelted with rotten eggs, but it turned out that the people understood both today's difficulties and the difficult position of their president. And in general, Yeltsin said, the Volga region has always been a litmus test indicating the tension in a situation. That was why he came.

The president was also asked a question about the appointment of the heads of administration of the oblast. The fact is, these heads have not yet been appointed in only two oblasts in Russia, Saratov and Ulyanovsk; and it would be more correct to say that in Ulyanovsk a head of administration was appointed by presidential decree, but rallies were held, the oblast soviet did not agree with the candidacy, and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin suspended the decree.

Now to the question as to whether he would be appointed now, the president replied that in Saratov Oblast he had not yet signed the decree, but he would sign it later, and tomorrow would show how things would go in Ulyanovsk.

Replying to a question of why in Ulyanovsk and other towns prices were so high—they are really higher in these parts than in neighboring regions—the president said that this was the fault of the administrative-command system, and that sausages at 100 rubles and more was more than a mistake. The shops should immediately be privatized, and the oblast and municipal trade administrations should be rapidly abolished.

A few words about the president's schedule and his work for tomorrow: In the morning it will be the aircraft industry complex, where a joint-stock enterprise has been organized that is open to foreign capital. No doubt you all know that this enterprise manufactures the famous heavyweight Ruslan aircraft, and now the new Ulyanovsk airliners [word indistinct] are coming out on the Aeroflot lines. Here there will of course be difficult talks because the enterprise is in a very difficult financial situation. The subdivision where aircraft industry workers live is neglected. [passage omitted] After visiting

the industrial complex, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin will visit a state farm near the town. Here you can imagine that the conversation will definitely be about land reform, which here in Ulyanovsk Oblast is, so far, going rather slowly. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon it is planned that Boris Nikolayevich will meet representatives of the clergy. Then there will be a meeting with the leadership of the oblast, in which the question of the head of administration of Ulyanovsk Oblast will or will not be resolved.

In the evening Boris Nikolayevich will fly to Nizhniy Novgorod.

Says Fleet Under 'Protection'

LD0901132992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1302 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS special correspondents Nikolay Milov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Ulyanovsk, 9 Jan (TASS)—"No one will take the Black Sea Fleet from Russia, not even Kravchuk," Boris Yeltsin stated today at an aircraft works in Ulyanovsk that he visited during his tour of Volga towns.

The Russian president, via Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, told the commanders of the ships of the Black Sea Fleet that they are under the protection of the president of Russia and that the sailors should not swear an oath to the Ukraine.

"The Black Sea Fleet has been, is still, and will remain Russian," he said firmly, speaking to those assembled. At the same time, Yeltsin noted that "Russia is trying to build normal relations with the Ukraine". He recalled that since the time of Kievan Rus, our peoples have been together and there are now 11 million Russians living in the Ukraine. "Therefore, we should not quarrel with the Ukraine," the president of Russia stressed.

Touching on the liberalization of prices in the republic, he pointed out that this is "our last chance to put the economy right". "The Government of Russia no longer has any other choice," the president asserted. In his opinion, in six to eight months the situation will stabilize and a gradual improvement in prosperity will begin. Boris Yeltsin called on people to summon up their patience for this difficult time and to support the leadership of Russia in carrying out radical economic reforms.

In the evening, Boris Yeltsin will leave Ulyanovsk for Nizhniy Novgorod.

Further on Aircraft Plant Visit

LD0901150192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Report by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Igor Verabov from Ulyanovsk]

[Text] Early this morning Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin set off for the Ulyanovsk aviation industry complex—a unique enterprise that is closer to international standards than others in the country. The president acquainted himself with the promising development of the thermoplane—a flying machine for the 21st century, as they say here. Then he visited workshops, examined a TU-204 that was being assembled, and sat in the cockpit of a Ruslan. In spite of the lack of time, the president gave a short address to the factory workers and answered a couple of questions. The president said the current economic difficulties are an inevitable stage. If people are sufficiently patient and hard-working changes for the better will be felt even this year—not in some remote Communist future.

To judge from their questions, the aviation industry workers were worried by two issues: that no head of the oblast administration has been appointed and the fate of the Black Sea Fleet. Yeltsin's answers satisfied those assembled. It was promised that Oblast Soviet Chairman Yuriy Goryachev, who has great prestige here, will be appointed head of administration, and that the Black Sea Fleet will not be handed over to the Ukraine.

Yeltsin's schedule has been amended because of a lack of time. The Russian president is now meeting representatives of the clergy, and a meeting is then planned with representatives of public movements and parties. After that, in the evening, the Russian president will continue his journey along the Volga by flying to Nizhniy Novgorod.

Luzhkov, Moscow Government To Resign

LD0901122992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Palariya]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jan (TASS)—A TASS correspondent has been told at the Moscow government press center that at 1730 today, a resignation statement by Yuriy Luzhkov and the city government that he heads will be read at the former CEMA building on Kalinin Prospekt.

Chairman of Moscow Workers Council Interviewed

PM0801165192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Moscow Workers Council Chairman V. Shishkarev, incorporating report by Nikolay Lyaporov, under the rubric "Topical Interview"; date not given: "...Like a Knight at the Crossroads"]

[Text] Moscow—The Moscow Workers Council is sheltering in a tiny little room which is pompously called "headquarters" and is always full to bursting with anxious people. It was here that we met with Council Chairman V. Shishkarev—he appeared straight from a shift at the assembly plant. He is 42 years of age and works at the famous ZIL plant as a high class fitter. Throwing off his jacket, he enthusiastically joined in the conversation at a long communal table.

"Isn't it a bit cramped here for his majesty the working class?" I inquired.

"What can you do," Vasiliy Ivanovich replied gloomily. "We still do not have a permanent place and it looks as if we will be asked to get out of here... But people are coming to see us; many are in need of social protection today."

[Lyaporov] I have heard people say that the workers movement here is only just starting up, that essentially it does not yet exist...

[Shishkarev] I would not say that, but I agree that the worker's instinct to fight for his rights has become pretty atrophied. Today much has changed, the former guarantees of work and accommodation no longer exist, but the workers are still living according to the old standards: Perhaps we will get by. Hence the inactivity and wait-and-see attitude.

[Lyaporov] But there have been miners' strikes, and a rally by many thousands of people took place in Moscow, 7 November...

[Shishkarev] Our council also took part in this rally. I would not assert that all workers are inactive. They are simply all very different. Some dream about a having good capitalist boss, whereas work at state enterprises suits others better. There are also those in favor of collective ownership, although the workers fear that you cannot play about with the market and could get your fingers burned very quickly.

[Lyaporov] In short the working class today, like a knight at the crossroads, is considering which way to go? Many people certainly lack knowledge of economics, law...

[Shishkarev] Yes, they need to study. In several large cities—Nizhniy Novgorod, for example—workers councils are arranging study programs, but things are simply not getting off the ground here at the moment...

[Lyaporov] But this is Moscow! You mean there are no economists and lawyers wishing to help the workers here?

[Shishkarev] It is difficult to organize classes when we have neither premises nor textbooks. Enterprise leaders brush the question aside, saying that it is not their concern. And to tell the truth the workers themselves are none too insistent—many have not yet gotten over their allergy to the former "universal political education," where classes were a duty.

[Lyaporov] One trade union leader claimed that the workers movement and the trade unions had "gone in different directions." How do you react to that view?

[Shishkarev] I do not share it. Sure, the slogans of the workers movement do not always coincide with the trade unions' line, sometimes we take a more critical and tougher attitude toward those who are in power. But why should we be divided? There should be a unified workers policy.

[Lyaporov] What about the local soviets? Haven't the workers become cool toward them? In Moscow the city and rayon soviets are being persecuted, and it looks as though the working class is in no hurry to defend them.

[Shishkarev] In my opinion the main problem is that these soviets have been "purged" of workers. For example, the Moscow City Soviet deputies do not include a single automobile worker. How on earth will the workers develop trust in them?.. [Shishkarev ends]

There at "headquarters" I met with Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Podguzov, member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Workers Party, which was founded not so long ago at a congress in Yekaterinburg. It turns out that Valeriy Alekseyevich is a frequent visitor here, and workers discuss their difficult concerns with him.

"Today the the old task of inculcating socialist ideas in the workers movement is coming to full prominence again," he said. "Only these ideas are capable of overcoming the old illness of 'economism' and sectoral egoism and uniting working people..."

The worker Vasiliy Shishkarev seemed to react coolly to "inculcating ideas," but on the other hand he supported the appeal for solidarity.

"The new year of 1992, to all appearances, has new ordeals in store for us workers. We will overcome them by linking arms more firmly."

Mosocw Poll Shows Approval for Gorbachev

LD0901023492 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow January 8 TASS—40.9 percent of Muscovites, polled by the "Mnenie" (Opinion) independent social service, said they approve of the activities of former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. They said he had done more to the benefit of the country rather than to its detriment. 30.3 percent of the respondents to the poll, conducted at the request of the Russian Commercial Bank, disapproved of Gorbachev's activities.

Moscow reformist Mayor Gavriil Popov enjoys both less support and opposition than the former Soviet president does: 23.6 percent disapprove of Popov's work while over one-third support him. However, the majority of

respondents are undecided yet. The results of the poll were made public on Wednesday [8 January].

Chechen Parliament To Decide Georgian Policy

LD0901110892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] All the opposition's problems are far from resolved with the armed overthrow of President Gamsakhurdia, according to many observers. The regime that has installed itself in Tbilisi will run into resistance from the rural areas in the next few days, especially western Georgia.

The Chechen Republic is also interfering, in a way, in Georgia's affairs. People from President Dudayev's regime told a Radio Liberty correspondent that the movement of fuel and energy carriers from Chechnya to Georgia had been halted. The republic's government is recalling all Chechen students studying in Georgian colleges. The republic's subsequent actions regarding Georgia will be drawn up on Wednesday [8 January] at an emergency session of the Chechen parliament. Official Groznyy describes the events in Tbilisi as a military putsch, with a junta seizing power.

Chechen Restores 1934 Borders With Ingushetia

LD0801232292 Moscow TASS in English 2249 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy January 9 TASS—The Chechen Republic has restored its borders with the neighboring Republic of Ingushetia that existed until 1934 when they merged into an autonomous region.

A declaration adopted by the parliament says that any attempts to renegotiate the borders will be considered as a violation of law.

Analysts fear, however, the move may aggravate relations between both republics.

St. Petersburg Vice Mayor on Black Sea Fleet

OW0801140592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] St. Petersburg's deputy mayor, Rear Admiral Vyacheslav Scherbakov, has addressed a personal message to the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet, urging them to remain faithful to their oath.

Published by the press service of St. Petersburg's mayoralty the message says that to place the Black Sea Fleet under Kiev's jurisdiction would be tantamount to liquidating guarantees for a reliable protection of Russia's southern sea borders.

According to V. Scehcrbkov, subjugation of the Black Sea Fleet by the Ukraine is inadmissible not only in terms of international law, but also in terms of respect for the historic traditions of the Russian Navy.

Mayor Sobchak Criticizes Ukraine, CIS

LD0901002692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Jan 92

[News conference with St. Peterburg Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak with program announcers Sergey Torchinskiy and Nina Zvereva and newspaper correspondents; from the "Without Retouching" program—live in the studio]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted: Sobchak makes opening statement; calls for no turning back on reforms; opens conference to questions; correspondent asks his opinion of Popov's threat to resign; Sobchak says he sympathizes]

[Dorofeyev] Nikolay Dorofeyev from TRUD newspaper. I would like to ask you, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, to rise a little above the level of urban problems and mayor's problems and to reflect with us about the following...

[Sobchak, interrupting] It is always useful to reflect about things.

[Dorofeyev] Indeed. Today we can mark a kind of anniversary. Exactly a month ago in the depths of the Belovezhshakaya Pushcha, the three leaders of the three states gave birth to their brainchild which we all now call the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. So, today, a month later, at this moment in time how can you assess the very idea of the commonwealth, its very existence, taking into account the positions of individual republics, in particular for instance, of Ukraine?

[Sobchak] If you remember, I spoke about this in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and at the last session of the Union Supreme Soviet. I then gave my support to the concluded agreements because the idea of conclusion of a union treaty which I had always supported reached a dead end, and because it seemed that a way out of the situation was found and that this way out would have a subsequent life. That is why I backed this idea. Although I would like to impart to you a very interesting point. The actual word commonwealth belongs ... [changes thought] I wonder, perhaps some of the leaders who signed or took part in the preparation of the relevant document are trying to appropriate the copyright to it. But I have kept an 18-month-old letter, which Dmitriy Sergeyevich Likhachev wrote to me right at the time when original work was carried out on the union treaty: Taking into account the fact, he wrote, that the word union was very seriously compromised and was linked to the concept of the Communist Empire, would it not be better to find another word? And he thought that from the viewpoint

of the Russian language the word commonwealth would be a better one to describe the future confederative state, the idea of which was discussed then.

Now I can say absolutely clearly what I think about this. I think that the idea of the commonwealth has failed. I think that it is another deadend, and it is above all the actions of the Ukraine that have convinced me of this. As everyone knows, it was the position taken by the Ukraine that led to this idea of the commonwealth, in the first place. But now it is clear that she needed this idea of the commonwealth for one reason only: it wanted to use it as a kind of breathing space so as to create, during this time, its own army, to set up its own army, and on such a grand scale to boot ... [changes thought] You know, even before the Ukrainian president became president, he and those who are currently in office in the Ukraine had spoken about the need of a 400,000 strong army. And now we certainly know the way in which they want to create this army!

When we initially thought about every independent state having to create its own an army, we thought it would take place in a normal way. Indeed, if you want a 4 million strong army, be my guest, create it—but at the expense of your own taxpayers. But the plan, to use the journalists' favorite word, was different: to just pass the existing army under the jurisdiction of the Ukraine, although I cannot understand why inhabitants of Russia, Uzbekistan, or Kazakhstan called up into the Soviet Army must give the oath of allegiance to the Ukrainian Government.

Furthermore, I believe that today we have on our hands the most dangerous symbiosis—the symbiosis of the former party nomenclature. What is more, you and I know that in the Ukraine the communist regime was of the most stagnant and raging nature, I would say. There is as much Ukrainian as Russian blood in my veins. This is why I can speak about this confidently.

Most of all I am concerned about this symbiosis of extreme nationalists and the nomenclature whose conservatism has been evident for everyone. Today, they have found one another very quickly and, if you have noticed, the speeches by the leaders of the current Ukraine do not contain a single word about human rights or a law-governed state. All of them begin and end with words about independence. Now, we can see what sort of independence they have chosen. As a matter of fact, to be independent they above all require an army, an army which they can slap together in the shortest possible period of time. And now they want to lay their hands on the Black Sea Navy. And I have no doubt that tomorrow they will lay claims in regard to nuclear weapons. In fact, they have effectively already done so.

[(?Sichko)] Igor (?Sichko) of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. How do you assess the potential of the present Russian Government? Is it capable, in your opinion, of carrying out, implementing, what it has proclaimed?

[Sobchak] Well, you know, I cannot, unfortunately, say, speaking for myself, that the Russian government actually exists, since I do not manage to solve the overwhelming majority of the questions that I try to resolve, as the mayor of St. Petersburg, with the new Russian government, even if the relevant documents have been signed, let us say, by Boris Nikolayevich or Gaydar or Burbulis or other leading figures in the government, because even questions that have been solved by them are certainly not being solved at the levels that are usually called executive. So I would refrain from appraisals and comments.

I think that it has yet to become a government, if, of course, it has time to become a government.

[(?Sichko)] How long would you give it?

[Sobchak] Well, that also depends on how quickly they react to the actual events taking place in real life and how precise is the information that they receive about what is actually happening—in other words, on how wide the gap is between the theoretical views on how to carry out the reform and the real processes that are actually occurring.

[(?Sichko)] Thank you. [passage omitted: correspondent accuses Sobchak of making his name by criticizing old system. Sobchak denies this and defends his record in St. Petersburg; commenting on the city soviet, he calls for new elections and describes the postponement of elections to soviets as an error]

[(?Poegle)] MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS—Vadim (?Poegle). Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, let us get back to the fate of the Black Sea Fleet, since the question is probably now the most topical. As a politician and lawyer, do you see a possibility of some compromise?

[Sobchak] Not only do I see it; I think that a compromise is absolutely indispensable here. First and foremost, if one is to speak, in general, of the approach to these questions, I think that here there is one legally possible option—legally correct and fair—that all the founding republics that entered the Union in 1922, after they had themselves annulled the treaty of 1922, must return to the borders within which they entered the Union.

Everything else, all the other, as it were, territorial acquisitions, are subject for discussions and talks and for the taking of decisions, since the basis has been annulled. True enough, the president of the Ukraine has expressed the view that, for him, that treaty has no force whatsoever, like everything else that occurred under Soviet rule, although he had quite a hand in it too as a secretary in the Central Committee and a member of the Politburo of the Ukraine. But he prefers to return to the Pereyaslavl Rada [the Council of Pereyaslavl of 1654, which decided on the unification of Left-Bank Ukraine and Russia] and to the times of Bogdan Khmelnitskiy. Well, fine. Let us return to that treaty and return to the Ukraine within the borders of that treaty. Everything else must be the subject of discussions and talks.

As for the fate of the Black Sea Fleet, I should not like to talk now about territorial claims, about the fate of the Crimea, but there are, after all, quite a large number of precedents for the naval bases of one state being located on the territory of another state, even if one allows the absurdity that the Crimea is Ukrainian territory. So, from that point of view, I think that it is perfectly possible to have an agreement between Russia and the Ukraine, but, as far as I know, Sevastopol has never been a Ukrainian naval base. It has always been a Russian naval base, and this is a situation that cannot be changed under the influence of current circumstances. What took shape in the course of centuries cannot be altered in a single day, even if it was decided by representatives of the Communist nomenklatura together with nationalists.

[(?Poegle)] Let us suppose that the Ukraine... [Sobchak interrupts; both men talk briefly at the same time; correspondent continues] Then what about action by Russia—economic, I do not know, sanctions or some other?

[Sobchak] I do not think it is just a matter for Russia. I think that it is a matter for the international community too, since the actions of the Ukraine as regards, let us say, the Soviet Army and the Navy are actions that represent a huge threat to mankind as a whole, and so the holding by it of an international conference and talks connected with—let us say, under the auspices of, let us say, the United Nations Organization with the participation of the world's leading countries so as to work out a mutually acceptable solution is quite possible. I am opposed to resolving any territorial conflicts by force. There must be talks here, but time must not be allowed to slip by. It must not be permitted that the Ukraine should create an army which, if created, it would certainly use. I do not doubt that for a minute, and I think that today we are laying a mine under not only our future, but also the future of all mankind. [passage omitted: correspondent asks about Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar's record; Sobchak says people would accept price rises if they filled the shelves, but this has not happened. He calls for changes to obtain extra food. He says if supplies are not sorted out an economic war looms]

There are at least sources for increasing the amount of food and industrial goods. The first source is our own production. Evidently, in order to increase food goods, it is necessary to begin today—and not as it is being done by the Russian leadership, but energetically—and to carry out land reform and back this up with material and monetary resources, and carry it out rapidly with an eye to the future. Second, it is necessary to change the tax system which today provides no incentives for producers and, therefore, under this tax system, there is hardly any hope of our obtaining an increase in goods on the shelves. So, it is necessary to urgently introduce the appropriate changes. That is as far as concerns our internal production.

The second source is imports. We should adopt measures in order to create the most favorable conditions for Western investment and for the import of food and industrial goods from abroad into our country. This concerns customs rules and a whole range of other rules.

And, finally, the third source is the receipt of food and goods from other republics. Here what is needed is political decisions because if we are to speak about the Ukraine, again, unfortunately, we—Petersburg—have not received one gram of foodstuffs from the Ukraine since the Belovezhskaya agreement was concluded, even though we received assurances from Prime Minister Fokin and other Ukrainian government leaders that we would do so immediately. In my presence Comrade Fokin gave instructions and orders and gave assurances that dispatch had already begun. But nothing has happened yet and, judging by everything, it is unlikely that anything will happen.

Therefore, it is necessary to adopt certain political decisions here, and decisions, in the first place, within the framework of the CIS. It is a question of the future of the CIS. Because an economic war is beginning right now between the republics and either we will halt this war and nip it in the bud by means of coordinated actions or else it will continue and lead to very difficult economic consequences. There are already signs of this war in evidence. [passage omitted: Sobchak criticizes qualifications of people who produced Russian law on consumer rights. Sobchak says efforts are being made to encourage newspapers, but they must function as businesses and sort out their own affairs; he rejects criticism of his lifestyle and says he tries to live as an ordinary citizen]

[Marakov] Oleg Makarov of the DEMOKRATICHESKAYA ROSSIYA weekly. Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, we are all horrified by violence and I gladly believe you that you are opposed to resolving any poliical questions by force. But today you said that we should return to the 1922 treaty and the Pereyaslavl Rada, that the Crimea, for example, is...

[Sobchak, interrupting] No, it was not me who talked about the Pereyaslavl Rada. It was Kravchuk who said that he acknowledges only that treaty. I said only that one should be consistent and if one acknowledges a treaty one should draw from it the appropriate legal consequences just as Lithuania, for example, if it at one time annulled the corresponding treaty of 1939 it should have returned to the borders of Lithuania of 1938, that is to those borders that it had before the, well, occupation, or call it what you will, by the Soviet Union.

[Makarov] I understand you but under the 1922 treaty, Kazakhstan, too, should be part of Russia. But this is not the point, I simply would like to ask you whether in principle you are not afraid of causing harm by these statements, that tomorrow someone in the Ukraine or in Kazakhstan will say, look Sobchak, an authoritative Russian politician is calling for territorial questions to be resolved and that this will give additional trumps to the

supporters of Ukraine as a nuclear power or the supporters of the wish to be a power.

[Sobchak] You know, it is good that you asked this question because very often journalists interpret things in the way they wish to hear or in the way they have understood certain things. I am not at all calling for any territorial claims, I am simply saying that this should be a subject for negotiations because, legally, a republic has the right only to that territory with which it entered the Union. And if it has annulled the Union treaty, together with the other participants in this Union treaty, then it should return to its former borders and all subsequent acquisitions should be the subject of negotiations. Not the subject of struggle nor the subject of territorial seizures or quarrels but the subject of negotiations among all the participants in this Union, among those who were members of that Union.

Therefore, if, say, I had taken part in that Belovezhskaya agreement, I would have demanded that in the text of the Belovezhskaya agreement such consequences, the legal consequences which clearly stem from the annulling of the treaty... well, for this perhaps it is simply necessary to know a bit of the theory of international law or treaty law, that if a treaty is annulled then certain legal consequences follow... they should have been specified in the Belovezhskaya agreement. Then, perhaps, the interpretation that you are speaking of would not have arisen.

I repeat once again that I consider that there are certain questions which should be subject to discussion and negotiations and should be resolved as a result of these negotiations and not as the result of the use of force. But I am very concerned, and I would like to stress this, that the Ukraine is linking its independence mainly with the creation of powerful armed forces.

By an irony of fate, on the very day when the Belovezhskaya agreement was signed, the European states signed an agreement on creating a united European state and, correspondingly, changes in that sphere, too, and, as you understand, in the sphere of armaments and control of the armies, also. And as you understand, France, Germany, and Great Britain have not stopped being independent states as a result of this. But the attempt to make state sovereignty commensurate only with the existence of an army and to correlate these is, if you will excuse me, an attempt from the last century. Take Japan, is that a sovereign state, do you think?

[Makarov] Completely.

[Sobchak] But according to its Constitution it does not have the right to have an army. It only has self-defense forces with police functions.

[Co-announcer Nina Zvereva] Okay, Nikolay Andreyev, IZVESTIYA.

[Andreyev] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, a people's deputy of the former USSR, Nikolay Nikolayevich Engver, is planning to declare a political hunger strike. What is the reason? He believes that nobody but his voters can deprive him of the rank of deputy, but as we know, the Russian parliament has ended the Union deputies' powers. Would you join that hunger strike?

[Sobchak] You know, I would not join that hunger strike, because I do not believe it is necessary to go on hunger strike for the sake of the Union, and I do not regard a political hunger strike as an effective way of campaigning. [passage omitted]

But to be serious, overall, the actual removal of a deputy's status and a deputy's immunity from those who were elected by the people is not the most legally competent and historically correct decision that the Russian parliament has made. I believe that, overall, several legally incompetent and politically imprecise or incorrect decisions were made in the process of winding up the Union. I think that if a Union parliament had been kept, and a Union parliament formed by the republics, even in the shape in which it actually was formed, with appropriate functions, it would be easier for the CIS to survive. Now, though, this Commonwealth has nothing but a number of presidents, each of whom thinks that he is no less a president than the other. Therefore, from that situation, where our independent republics are thinking primarily about independence, and not about preserving that which should not be destroyed... take our unified electricity grid today: it would be a complete idiot who would allow the destruction of the unified electricity grid, even from the purely economic point of view, but even that is in question today.

Therefore, today we do not have legal levers to unite us or even a place where we could meet and exchange views or express our attitude at least to the actions of one or another of the presidents. By the way, this increases the danger of a return to regimes in the republics which are not only authoritarian, but even totalitarian, especially if you consider that the majority of the current republican regimes can in no way be called democratic. You can call them nationalist, you can also call them a certain symbiosis of nationalist forces and the former communist partocracy, but so far hardly any of the current republican governments merits the full, deserved title democratic, so to speak. Therefore, I feel that this, in particular, is very dangerous. [passage omitted]

[Zvereva] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, we really have only two minutes, that is why I would like you to reply to this very briefly. You are well-known for your precise juridical language. How do you describe the events that took place in Georgia? There are already many definitions: revolution, military coup, a putsch. A brief definition please.

[Sobchak] You know, it is difficult to come out with a brief definition because I oppose all violent and illegal actions. But from the very beginning I was saying that the fact that Gamsakhurdia was elected the president was a misfortune for the Georgian people and that no good would come of it. [passage omitted]

National Affairs

Kravchuk Views Nuclear Arms, Black Sea Fleet

LD0801203292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev, 8 January (TASS)—The Ukraine's intention to become a non-nuclear power was confirmed once again by President Leonid Kravchuk in a conversation with a delegation of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, headed by its chairman, Les Aspin. During the meeting today, Kravchuk told the guests that unlike Russia, the Ukraine has no intention of joining NATO or any other military blocs.

The Ukrainian president said that at present we are preparing documents and making calculations in order to implement our plan of removing all strategic nuclear weapons from our state by 1 July 1992 and of destroying all tactical nuclear arms by 1994. We should like this matter to be under not only Ukrainian but also international control. In accordance with the treaty between the USSR and the United States, 130 silos with missiles are to be destroyed in the Ukraine over a period of seven years. We, however, wish to destroy all 176 on our territory, and to do it in three years. There are no political obstacles to this, because all the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] approve of the Ukraine's position. The problem lies in the technologies and the technical side of the matter. The essence of the matter here is that in the former USSR there was only one plant for the destruction of nuclear weapons, located in the Urals. We do not have such a plant. We also need help from Western countries. But even if such help is not given, we still have another option—we will simply remove the missiles from combat readiness.

"We now have reliable telephone communications with Yeltsin, Shushkevich, and Nazarbayev, which will prevent any one of us from using nuclear weapons without coordination with the other three," Leonid Kravchuk stressed. "In a few days, a device will be installed in my office that will be able, when necessary, to block the nuclear button. This means that it will be impossible to launch a missile from any point in the former Union without a joint decision by us."

Speaking about the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, Leonid Kravchuk commented that Russia is laying claim because it is still not treating the Ukraine as an independent state. True, while the Black Sea Fleet is part of the strategic forces, it belongs to the CIS, but not in any way to Russia. However, according to the Ukraine's military doctrine, all strategic arms will be withdrawn by July 1992. This also applies to those held by the Black Sea Fleet. After that, it will pass to Ukrainian jurisdiction. Regarding the taking of the Ukrainian military oath, it should be taken, in Leonid Kravchuk's opinion, by those units that are forming the basis of the Ukraine's armed forces. The strategic units, however, being subordinate to the CIS, should take an oath of loyalty to the CIS.

Fleet's 'Main Base' To Remain in Republic

OW0901042792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2139 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Excerpt] A key member of Ukraine's parliament said that the republic could transfer part of the Black Sea fleet to the strategic forces of the Commonwealth, but that the fleet's main base, situated on Ukrainian territory, would have to remain under the republic's jurisdiction. Furthermore, the republic would still have to determine which units of the armed forces, including those of the fleet, it would turn over to the Commonwealth's joint command, he added. [passage omitted]

Legislator Cited on Black Sea Fleet

LD0901001392 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Member of the Standing Commission of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine on issues of defense and national security, Sergey (?Koleynik), said the following:

I believe that sooner or later, he said, the destiny of the Black Sea Fleet will be solved. Ukraine has a prevailing right to the Black Sea Fleet. First of all, this is in its territory. Second, the greater part of the Fleet of the former Union in general was built in the Ukraine, in its shipyards, and I think that it is no time now to raise hullabaloo about the Black Sea Fleet in case the Commonwealth of Independent States or Russia, under its banner, as it seems to me, would like to take over part of the Fleet now laying claim for it and later would want to take over the remaining part of the Fleet, I believe it will have to give it over. And it is quite natural that the problems may be settled only through negotiations because variants are quite possible that the Black Sea Fleet may be transfered to the Baltic Fleet so as to flee from the Ukrainian port, said Sergey (?Koleynik).

Statement on Accusations of CIS 'Violations'

LD0801210192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2002 GMT 8 Jan 92

["Statement by Ukrainian National Information Agency"—headline]

[Text] Kiev, 8 Jan (UKRINFORM-TASS)—Today the Ukrainian National Information Agency published a statement for the mass media. It says that from the first days of the New Year, members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] have begun profound reforms with the aim of switching to a market economy. The initial stage, in which measures worked out in offices are tested in life, reveals all the shortcomings and oversights that arouse people's anger and tension in society. It is precisely such a situation that is arising now,

not only in the Ukraine, but in other CIS states as well. Ever more often, the document says, the people of the Ukraine are finding out that in neighboring states individual public figures and the mass media are going along another path, seeking "the guilty" outside their own states and "finding" them in the Ukraine. Numerous and groundless accusations of an economic and financial character are being made against the Ukraine.

Recently these have been joined by tendentious statements on "violations by the Ukraine" of the Minsk agreements in the sphere of military construction, particularly with regard to the Black Sea Fleet. Particular concern is aroused by the fact that they are coming from individual representatives of both the highest leadership of a neighboring state and also of the highest military department of the former USSR; they are heard on both radio and television and are being published by the press.

In this regard the Ukrainian National Information Agency is authorized to state that the reproaches regarding violations by the Ukraine of the agreements concluded in Minsk on 30 December 1991 are completely groundless. According to Ukrainian law, the property and financial resources of "establishments under Union jurisdiction on Ukrainian territory (and the Black Sea Fleet is stationed, mainly, in the Ukraine), are the state property of the Ukraine." All participants in the Commonwealth without exception juridicially recognized that the Ukraine will implement this right without condition beginning 3 January 1992. All of this is fixed in Article 2 of the 30 December 1991 agreement by the Council of Heads of State of the CIS participants on the armed forces and border troops.

In fulfilling the accords, the agency statement says, the Ukraine proposed during the course of the talks in Kiev on 2-3 January a well-grounded list of formations, units, and establishments to be included in the strategic forces for the period until nuclear weapons are withdrawn from the Ukraine, until the end of 1994. However, the representatives of the supreme military department of the former USSR demanded that those units and establishments deployed in the Ukraine, which have no relation to the strategic nuclear forces, in particular air assault and ground formations, be transferred under their command. Such actions to recreate imperial military structures clearly were to the liking of some people in the Russian leadership.

However, they are undermining the atmosphere of trust and truly good-neighborly, friendly relations between our peoples and are unacceptable to the independent Ukraine. Such steps cause natural bewilderment and indignation among its people. The measures to create the armed forces of the Ukraine, including those concerning the Black Sea Fleet, are being taken with the consent of all the states of the CIS on the basis of voluntariness, respect for the rights and convictions of all the servicemen on Ukrainian territory, and on a solid legal basis.

The Ukraine is convinced, the document stresses, that it will be easier for the members of the Commonwealth to overcome this difficult period in the economic and social spheres if there is tolerance and respect for the national interests of each of them. It is making every effort to adhere undeviatingly to this line and is counting on similar actions on the part of all the states of the CIS.

Government Claims No Control Over Space Units

OW0801192692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine will not claim command over the units of space system control, based on its territory, that used to belong to the armed forces of the ex-USSR. An agreement to that effect was reached during a meeting of senior Commonwealth military commanders with Ukrainian leaders in Kiev late last week. Well-informed sources say that the talks were difficult, but that the space force commander, Col.-Gen. Vladimir Ivanov, managed to persuade Kiev of the inexpediency of resubordinating the units in question to the Ukrainian command.

According to the same sources, elements of the general system of control over spacecraft in orbit are based in Simferopol and Yevapatoria.

Minister: Military's 'Mixed Feelings' on Oath

OW0801192192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister Nikolay Morozov told reporters Wednesday [8 January] that taking the oath of allegiance to Ukraine by the armed forces personnel stationed on republican territory has aroused mixed feelings among the military.

He said every military serviceman must decide independently whether to continue serving in the Ukrainian Armed Forces, move to a unit stationed elsewhere, or retire from the service altogether.

The defense minister noted that since the proclamation of Ukrainian independence the problems facing the military had been in the focus of Supreme Council and government attention. He said that a law on the social and legal protection of military servicemen and their families would come into effect in Ukraine on January 9. Draft laws on military service and pensions are to be made public soon in the Republic.

6,400 Servicemen Pledge Allegiance to Ukraine

LD0801161192 Kiev Radio Kiev English 0100 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] An appeal of the president of Ukraine and chief commander of its armed forces, Leonid Kravchuk, to the

military servicemen was published today in the Ukrainian press. In his appeal, Leonid Kravchuk indicates that in Minsk the participants in the Commonwealth of Independent States reaffirmed their legal right to form their own armed forces. It was decided that Ukraine starts exercising this right beginning January this year, 1992.

All the military formations and forces, excluding those which are regarded by Ukraine as strategic, will be transformed into the armed forces of Ukraine. By the 20th of January this year all the servicemen in the republic are supposed to take an oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine. By now 6,400 servicemen took an oath of allegiance, of whom 200 are officers. These include the personnel of the Defense Ministry of Ukraine, railroad troops stationed in all the three military districts, air force maintenance units in Kiev, and some other formations.

However, 1,800 servicemen, citizens of other republics, refused to take an oath of allegiance to Ukraine and expressed their wish to return to their respective republics. They all were dispatched to Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Nizhniy Novgorod, the Russian Federation.

8,000 Pledge Allegiance to National Guard

OW0801154392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine is forming its own National Guard. As IF [INTERFAX] learned from the National Guard press service, about 8,000 military servicemen have already taken oath of allegiance to the Republic.

By the end of 1992 the National Guard is expected to number 18-20 thousand people.

Kiev Army Officer on Desertion Problem

LD0901001192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2200 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We have received a statement issued by the Ukrainian news agency that refutes the recriminations of Russian politicians and of the military who are accusing the Ukraine of violating the Minsk agreements concerning the military sphere. In his turn Leonid Kravchuk noted, when speaking at a meeting with a U.S. Congress delegation, that Russia is laying claim to the Black Sea Fleet because it is not treating the Ukraine as an independent state. This statement can be considered as the first official reaction of the Ukraine to the Russian stance in the military sphere, in particular regarding the Black Sea Fleet. The Army itself has many problems, and they are being inherited by the newly created armed forces in the former republics, including the Ukraine.

[Begin recording] [Pletenets, head of the Directorate for Organization and Draft of the Kiev Military District] Since the referendum confirmed the act of Ukrainian independence and the Ukraine became an independent state, all the Union's laws have ceased to be valid on Ukrainian territory, but Ukrainian laws have not yet been worked out. This is why some young people are taking advantage of this vacuum in the law, as it were, refusing to serve in the ranks of the Ukrainian armed forces. More than 1,500 have now deserted, having categorically refused to serve in the armed forces, and that is not for moral reasons or pacifist and religious convictions. They just do not want to serve anywhere. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Outlines Main Principles

AU0801144792 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian No. 38-39, December 1991 p 2

[Summary of measures proposed by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko for the protection of the national interests of the Ukraine: "Concept of Accord"]

[Text] **Anatoliy Zlenko, Ukrainian minister of foreign affairs, presented for the attention of Ukrainian and foreign journalists a complex of measures elaborated for the protection of the interests of our country. On the whole, it constitutes answers to numerous questions by representatives of the mass media with regard to particular aspects of future steps of the independent Ukraine. Here is its content.**

1. The Ukraine is a successor to the agreements concluded by the former USSR, provided that they do not contradict the Ukrainian Constitution.

2. The Ukrainian Supreme Council has confirmed its readiness to pay its part of the Soviet Union's external debt and, at the same time, to obtain the due part of the USSR assets.

3. The Ukraine will develop its armed forces and the republican guard, taking into account political realities, and will only do so through agreements and consultations with other sovereign states of the former Union.

4. The Ukraine will put into effect its intention to become, in the future, a nuclear-free state that will not join military blocs and will adhere to three nonnuclear principles. The Ukraine will participate in the implementation of all treaties and accords on the nonuse of nuclear weapons. Control over nuclear weapons must be transferred to a joint command—to the Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. These weapons must not be taken outside its territory.

5. We, as a European state, intend to become an equal participant in the general European process. The

Ukraine undertakes to fulfill all the international legal obligations adopted by the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and will fulfill the acts on human rights.

6. The protection of national minorities is a priority task.

7. The Ukraine declares that its territory is indivisible and inviolable. It respects the inviolability of the existing borders and does not have territorial claims upon any states. It comes out categorically against any attempts to revise the Helsinki accords.

Belarus

Zhirinovskiy Appearance on Charges Demanded

LD0801154892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By Larisa Kislinskaya]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)— A telegram has arrived at the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department from the Belarus capital demanding that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP], be "obliged to appear to give explanations at the Minsk Central Rayon Criminal Investigation Department."

"The demand by colleagues from a sovereign state cannot be met," Militia Colonel Yuriy Fedoseyev, chief of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department, told a TASS correspondent. It is unclear in what capacity and at whose expense we should send the LDP leader to Minsk, he noted. But the main thing is that no matter what the nature of the charge made against him is, a trial in an adjacent state would be political. Officials of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department do not wish to participate in a political investigation and have absolutely no desire to be drawn into "dubious undertakings," noted Fedoseyev. A little earlier the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department leadership refused for the same reasons to participate in the detention of members of the Vilnius Special Purpose Militia Detachment and a number of Lithuanian political figures in Moscow.

You will recall that at the end of December, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in a speech on state Belorussian television stated: "If by April next year I am in power, of which there is no doubt, then in May all those who signed the agreement on the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Alma-Ata will be imprisoned for having undertaken a coup d'etat." "When I am president, I will place troops in a state of heightened combat readiness. Bandits from ethnic armed groupings who have not surrendered their weapons within 72 hours will be eliminated," he said.

The utterances of Zhirinovskiy have become the subject of parliamentary debate in Belarus. Oil was thrown onto the fire by the report that the LDP leader was seeking to break into the meeting hall of the Supreme Soviet. A heated discussion took place in the foyer between himself and several deputies. As a result, one of the deputies turned to the general procurator of the republic demanding the institution of criminal proceedings against Zhirinovskiy with regard to the insults and threats of physical retribution. Passions cooled somewhat only when it was learned that the republican procuracy would hold an expert investigation into his speeches and statements in respect to calls for anti-constitutional actions.

Shushkevich Visits Belarus Military Garrisons

PM0901115592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Single Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel P. Chernenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "S. Shushkevich Meeting With Garrison Servicemen"]

[Text] Minsk—On 8 January S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet, met with servicemen of the Minsk garrison. Answering numerous questions from those assembled, S. Shushkevich stated that Belarus is trying to become a nuclear-free zone and a neutral state. But nuclear munitions must be reduced consistently. A lot of time is needed for that. Nuclear weapons will be under reliable control and cannot be used without agreement with the republic.

Belarus, which has declared itself a sovereign state, will have its own armed forces which, if necessary, should reliably protect its people and land. But the number of troops in Belarus at present is unnecessary. That means there will be a reduction. A treaty between Russia and Belarus on this issue is necessary. Russia should not be the inheritor of all the Armed Forces of the former Union.

Shushkevich also touched on the problem of the social protection of servicemen, providing a pension for reserve and retired officers. He stated that the republic's Supreme Soviet has resolved, is resolving, and will resolve these questions and will never leave the servicemen without its protection. The reduction of the troops in Belarus will proceed gradually so that the rights of not one serviceman are encroached upon.

On the same day S. Shushkevich visited the Marina Gorka garrison, met with officers and ensigns and members of their families, and familiarized himself with the life and daily routine of the personnel of the units and subunits and the progress in constructing a residential town that is being erected by the Minsk KHAKA joint stock association.

Parliament Resumes Session To Discuss Economy

LD0901080492 Moscow TASS in English 0747 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk January 9 TASS—The extraordinary eighth session of the Belarussian parliament resumes today after Christmas recess.

The main debate is expected to focus on a government-prepared forecast for the socio-economic development of the republic, a draft state plan and a draft state budget for 1992. The budget is expected to incorporate a deficit.

In addition, republican parliament chief Stanislav Shushkevich, who met the top-ranking officers of the Belarussian Military District on Wednesday [8 January], intends to suggest that the session's agenda be substantially broadened and that a number of army-related issues be discussed.

The session's agenda also includes laws on taxes, the customs service, humanitarian aid, etc.

PRC Envoy Presents Recognition Letter

LD0301234992 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarussian 0400 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Text] Ambassador Wang Jinqing, special representative of the PRC Government, has conveyed a letter to the Belorussian Foreign Affairs Ministry informing of the Chinese Government's recognition of Belarus independence.

Belarussian-Chinese talks on establishing diplomatic relations have began. On behalf of the PRC foreign affairs minister, the ambassador conveyed an invitation to Kravchenko, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of Belarus, to pay an official visit to the PRC. The invitation was received with gratitude.

Kazakhstan

President Warns Miners Against Striking

OW0801210192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted by KYODO]

[Text] During his Wednesday [8 January] meeting with coal miner representatives, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev warned against miners' attempts to intimidate the government by strikes. "Those refusing to resume work will just be left penniless," Nazarbayev said, and added that he would take the coal mining industry under "personal control."

He suggested imposing a 12-month moratorium on strikes so that Kazakhstan could begin to adjust its own gold-mining industry and export oil in order to raise funds for economic development.

Among the republic's development priorities Nazarbayev listed the light industry, motor industry, and precision engineering. He said it might take two to three years to get things going the way they should, and that plans of this kind might find themselves buried if industry was immobilised by continuing strikes.

Official: 'Nuclear Force' for 'Turkism'

NC0901085992 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 6 Jan 92 p 3

[Report by Erkin Alptekin on a statement to TURKIYE by Kazakh People's Deputy Muhtar Sahanoglu, identified as Kazakhstan state minister, in Munich; date not given; quotation marks as published]

[Text] People's Deputy Muhtar Sahanoglu, who is also the chairman of the "Aral, Asia, Kazakhstan" and "Alma-Ata, Helsinki, Paris" committees, the editor of "CALIN", and the secretary of the Kazakhstan Writers Union, stated that "'the nuclear force' that we possess is at the service of Turkism."

Muhtar Sahanoglu also stated that Kazakhstan has taken over the natural wealth of the country and that it wants to share this wealth with the entire Turkic world, including Turkey.

"We Have a Strong Administrative Cadre"

Muhtar Sahanoglu pointed out that Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev is a good economist and an able statesman and indicated that Kazakhstan has an administrative cadre capable of overcoming any difficulty the country might face.

"The Turkic World is Waking Up"

The Kazakh official pointed out that Central Asia and the Caucasus, which had fallen into a tragic situation under Communism, is now living through a comprehensive revival and that it is no longer possible to impede the revival of the Turkic world. Indicating that they are giving enormous importance to the development of relations with Turkey, Muhtar Sahanoglu hoped that Turkish entrepreneurs would be interested in Kazakhstan's oil reserves and mines.

Food Coupons Introduced in Alma-Ata

PM0601143992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Jan 92 First Edition p 2

[Report from roundup of RIA and TASS reports: "Now Food by Coupon"]

[Text] A coupon system has become the reality for many inhabitants of the Kazakhstan capital. After an agonized search for a way out of the crisis situation, the Alma-Ata Gorispokom [City Soviet Executive Committee] has adopted a decision "on additional measures to improve the provision of food goods for the population of the city of Alma-Ata."

In Alma-Ata a procedure is being introduced for selling basic foods by coupon. The population will be served on the basis of the experience of order-taking salerooms. Schedules have been worked out for shipping food, and publicity has been assured for the range and volume of incoming produce. Public committees to control the movement of consumer goods from supplier to consumer will begin to operate at each store.

'Arafat Says Alma-Ata Recognizes Palestine

PM0801115592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 1, 5 Jan 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Visit"]

[Text] MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has learned from sources close to the Kazakh president that Nursultan Nazarbayev was more than surprised 23 December to learn on his return from Hanoi that PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat intended to visit him. According to Mr. Nabil 'Amr, Palestinian ambassador in Moscow, "Yasir 'Arafat has visited Alma-Ata at President Nazarbayev's invitation."

One way or another Yasir 'Arafat left the aircraft at Alma-Ata Airport full of optimism, although he had by no means a top-level reception. Following the protocol welcome and answering a question about the aim of the visit, 'Arafat replied that he had "come to my brothers." Clearly, Kazakhstan's top political circles did not entirely share this "brotherly" view of diplomacy: Nursultan Nazarbayev received his guest not at the presidential residence but at the Supreme Soviet building. The talks lasted exactly an hour and a very limited number of people took part in them. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has learned that Yasir 'Arafat stated that he considers Kazakhstan to be a Near East country and that war in the Near East could spill over at any time into all the

countries of the region. Then Israeli missiles would fall on Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

The Palestinian ambassador made a high assessment of the results of the visit, reporting that Nazarbayev had recognized the Palestinian state and that agreement was reached on exchanging ambassadors.

Tajikistan

Decree Frees Prices on Some Goods, Services

LD0801200492 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] In connection with the freeing of prices being conducted by the Commonwealth of Independent States, the president of Tajikistan has issued a decree on measures to free prices. It says:

From 10 January 1992, free market prices and tariffs formed by supply and demand will be applied to technical industrial products, consumer goods, work, and services. State purchases of agricultural produce are also to be conducted according to free market prices.

From 10 January 1992, for enterprises and organizations, regardless of their form of ownership, state-regulated prices and tariffs are to be established for technical industrial products and basic consumer goods and services according to addenda numbers 1 and 2.

The Cabinet of Ministers of the republic of Tajikistan is to determine the maximum level of prices and tariffs for specific types of technical industrial products, basic consumer goods, and services envisaged in addenda numbers 1 and 2 to this decree and the order of their regulation. In case of necessity, changes are to be made to the schedule of technical industrial products, consumer goods, and services being marketed according to state-regulated prices and tariffs, as well as to goods being freely marketed.

In 1992, the order of regulating prices for goods of monopoly enterprises is to be introduced. In 1992, in interaction with states of the Commonwealth, there is to be a transfer to accounting on an agreed upon interstate schedule of supplies of goods and products, as a rule, in world prices.

The State Economics Committee of the republic of Tajikistan is to elaborate provisions on the order of the application of free market prices on technical industrial products, consumer goods, work, and services, and economic sanctions for violating state-pricing discipline.

Supreme Soviet Appoints New Prime Minister

LD0901090192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0810 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Dushanbe, 9 Jan (TAJIKTA-TASS)— A new prime minister is heading the government of Tajikistan. The Supreme Soviet today appointed to the post, on the proposal of the president of the republic, 46-year-old Akbar Mirzoyev, who was formerly chairman of the Kulyab Oblast Executive Committee.

The new prime minister is a builder by profession. He replaces 55-year-old Izatullo Khayeyev, who resigned for health reasons.

More on Uranium Enrichment Plant Denial

LD0901120792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Text] Passions continue to rage in Tajikistan over the local NANT news agency's report on Tajik uranium for an Islamic bomb, which caused serious alarm throughout the entire civilized world. Several days ago, this canard was officially denied to the republic's parliament by Georgiy Koshlakov, a member of the Cabinet of Ministers in charge of economic issues. The republic's NARODNAYA GAZETA today carries an interview with the leaders of the enterprises which, according to NANT, were engaged in uranium enrichment. I can say with full responsibility that there is no top secret uranium enrichment plant in the republic, said (Yuriy Nesterov), director general of the Vostokregmet production association. He therefore called the correspondent's suggestion that nuclear technology might be sold to a number of Arab Muslim countries a fabrication.

[Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English at 1300 GMT on 9 January adds the following: "According to him [Koshlakov] the authors of these sensational statements carried out a special order from certain republican forces aimed at destabilizing the situation in Tajikistan. Under a decision adopted by the Tajik parliament the prosecutor's office of the republic will launch an inquiry into the matter."]

Defense Committee Chief Niyazov Interviewed

PM0901112392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Single Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Farrukh Niyazov: Armed Forces Should Be Joint"]

[Text] Dushanbe—By a decree of the Tajikistan president, Major General Farrukh Rakhmanovich Niyazov has been appointed chairman of the Tajikistan Defense Committee. Born in 1935 in the city of Khudzhand, he is a Tajik by nationality. He graduated from the Irkutsk military aviation school and the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy military academy and served in the Strategic Missile Forces. In 1979 he joined the civil defense system, first of Kazakhstan and then of Tajikistan. Since December 1985 he has been chief of staff and deputy chief of the Tajikistan Civil Defense. He is a Tajikistan people's deputy.

Our correspondent had a brief interview with Major General F. Niyazov after he had taken up his post. In particular he said:

"I shall direct all my efforts toward the creation of joint armed forces for the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. The agreements signed in Minsk should be fulfilled. Tajikistan will not create its own army. At the same time, the newly created Defense Committee will engage in coordinating the activity of all military structures on the territory of the republic, supplying the necessary information to the president. We shall not neglect the problem of the legal and social protection of all servicemen.

"It is planned to have a staff in the system of the Defense Committee.

"The national guard being created in the republic will be directly subordinate to the president."

Uzbekistan

Prices Freed 10 Jan; Limits Set on Foodstuffs

LD0901104992 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By unidentified UZTAG-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tashkent January 9 UZTAG-TASS—A transition to contract (free) prices and tariffs for industrial and technical products, consumer goods, works and services will begin in Uzbekistan on Friday [10 January].

The republic's Cabinet of Ministers today adopted a decision to liberalise prices with a view to stabilising the socio-economic situation and creating conditions for shaping market relations.

Only a supply-and-demand ratio shall determine the prices and tariffs from now on.

The minimum consumer basket of the Uzbekistan resident will become more expensive but an increase in the price of its components is limited.

The Cabinet decision envisages a ceiling for the prices of a narrow range of foods and industrial goods as well as for service charges. Ultimate purchasing prices of major foodstuffs—grain, cattle, poultry, milk and eggs—have been set as well.

Prime Ministerial Post Established

LD0801125492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1122 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Tashkent, 8 Jan (UZTAG-TASS)—The post of vice president has been abolished in Uzbekistan, and a post of prime minister of the republic has been established. In accordance with the adopted law, the prime minister and his deputies are appointed by the president with the subsequent approval of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan.

By decree of republican President Islam Karimov, former Uzbek Vice President Shukurulla Mirsaidov has been appointed state secretary [as received] under the president.

A law on the reorganization of the local authority bodies of Uzbekistan was adopted at the same time. The post of governor [khokim] has been established in oblasts, rayons, and towns; the governors will head the representative and executive managerial authorities in the localities. Every governor is to account to the republican president and the relevant soviets of people's deputies.

President Appoints New Foreign Minister

LD0801135792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Tashkent, 8 Jan (UZTAG-TASS)—Ubaidulla Abdurazzaqov has been appointed the new foreign affairs minister of Uzbekistan. He previously held the post of chairman of the republic's State Committee for the Press. The relevant decree issued by the president of Uzbekistan is published today.

Former Foreign Minister Shakhlo Makhmudova has been released from her duties in connection with her transfer to other work.

Libya Recognizes State Independence

LD0701181492 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Summary] Libya has recognized the state independence of the republic of Uzbekistan and is ready to develop mutually advantageous relations with Uzbekistan.

Armenia

Further Reportage on Gamsakhurdia Asylum Issue

Officials Meet With President

LD0801234792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1942 GMT 8 Jan 91

[By Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Jan (TASS)—Today in Idzhevan—a rayon center in northeast Armenia—a meeting was held between Babken Araktsyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; Khosrov Arutyunyan, member of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who arrived in Armenia three days ago.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet press center reports that during their conversation they discussed questions connected to the temporary stay of Gamsakhurdia and his entourage in Armenia. There is no information on the details of the meeting.

Georgia Reports Asylum Granted

LD0801171292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By Viktor Voronyuk]

[Text] Tbilisi, 8 Jan (TASS)—Armenia has granted political asylum to Zviad Gamsakhurdia. This was announced at a news conference today by Tengiz Kitovani, a member of the Military Council.

According to Dzhaba Ioseliani, another member of the Military Council, the information has been received from Armenia that Gamsakhurdia's personal bodyguard had agreed yesterday to disarm, but had refused to do so this morning.

Dzhaba Ioseliani also declared that former Georgian Health Minister Manana Dzodzuashvili had illegally taken out of Georgia 40 kg of gold and was now with Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

Official Denies Report

LD0801182792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)—Mikit Kazaryan, head of the diplomatic representation office of the Republic of Armenia in Moscow, has just had a telephone conversation with a TASS correspondent in which he refuted a report from Tbilisi that Zviad Gamsakhurdia was granted political asylum in Armenia.

Gamsakhurdia and his party are staying in Idzhevanskiy Rayon for a third day.

Gamsakhurdia Calls Ouster 'Bloody Junta'

LD0801191992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer S. Sorokina] Just now I was told that we have received a video report from Yerevan. As you may remember, President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, his family and entourage are now in Izhevanskiy rayon in northeast Armenia. Today the official reporesentatives of the Armenian leadership went to Izhevan. In his message to Ter-Petrosyan, Tengiz Sigua guaranteed immunity for Zviad Gamsakhurdia on his return home but does not object to his temporary stay on Armenian territory until the investigation about him is completed.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] There has not been and there is no talk about political asylum for Gamsakhurdia and his supporters who have crossed the border into Armenia. They were given temporary leave to stay within the territory adjacent to the border. Gamsakhurdia uses the same accusations against his opposition as were earlier used against him.

[Gamsakhurdia] Most of all they are afraid of the newspapers. From this one can see what a force this is, and television too. They have seized the television and are using it to promote their own cause, you know. Thus, one can see that this has nothing to do with democracy. It is just typical fascism, a typical bloody junta.

[Correspondent] How does Zviad Gamsakhurdia see his future?

[Gamsakhurdia] That depends very much on many factors. I cannot predict this at the moment. It is very difficult to forsee. At least, I continue to stand by my position, I still consider myself, and I still am, the president of Georgia, its lawful president. [end recording]

Says Resignation Up to Voters

LD0901105792 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By unidentified ARMENPRESS-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan January 9 ARMENPRESS-TASS—Ousted Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia will step down as head of state only if voters, who elected him president, recall him. Speaking to an ARMENPRESS correspondent late on Wednesday [8 January], Gamsakhurdia said he did not consider himself an ex-president.

The ousted president denied claims he was suppressing opposition, saying that 20 opposition newspapers were freely coming out in Georgia during his rule.

"I left the governmental building in Tbilisi with the only aim to avoid bloodshed," Gamsakhurdia stated.

The ousted president, who is staying in Izhdevan (Armenia), refused to meet a delegation of the Georgian opposition.

Georgiy Shengelaya, a member of the delegation, told ARMENPRESS Gamsakhurdia's staying in Armenia would hardly influence relations between the two neighbouring Transcaucasian states. Georgia views "the activities of Armenian leaders from purely humane positions", Shengelaya said, adding that the Georgian provisional government had already stated it does not object Gamsakhurdia's temporary stay in Armenia. The leaderships of both countries have firmly agreed to settle the problem by joint effort in the future, he said.

Babken Abarktsyan, Armenian parliamentary speaker, visited Gamsakhurdia on Wednesday. They were reportedly discussing the grounds for the ousted president's stay in Armenia.

Government 'Forced' To Raises Prices

PM0801144392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergey Bablumyan report under the general headline: "Kazakhstan and Armenia Also Free Prices"]

[Text] Yerevan—Although Armenia had been expecting and getting ready for a difficult existence in market economy conditions, the government's decision to free prices as of 5 January came as a surprise.

The price liberalization announced in Russia forced Armenia to take this path regardless of the extent of its readiness. Indeed, the republic could not allow itself to linger in the starting blocks. Otherwise, so economists calculate, it could lose up to 30 million rubles [R] each day—goods would inevitably pour into adjoining states. In order to intensify control over this process, it has been decided to set up the republic's own customs administration. A package of presidential decrees aimed at entering a market economy as swiftly and painlessly as possible has been signed.

In the prevailing conditions it has been decided to forego the issue of coupons (it would have cost $3 million merely to print them) and to prepare to issue the republic's own currency. An increase in the size of the minimum wage and pensions and certain other measures for the social protection of the population have been announced. Henceforth the minimum wage will be R280 and the pension will be R260. The monthly additional payment to employees of budget-financed organizations will be R150, and it has been decided to give R110 per month to parents with children aged under 18 years. A government decision limits the increase in prices of a small group of foodstuffs—bread, certain types of children's food, salt...

Will this save people from the anticipated upheavals? Of course not. At best it will merely soften the blow. The first and most crushing blow, as expected, has been dealt to Armenia's fuel and energy complex. Only yesterday the republic purchased natural gas for R34 per 1,000 cubic meters, but now it will have to pay R1,500. This means that Armenia will have to spend R27 million per day on gas alone...

The republic will be forced to take retaliatory measures, but it will clearly be unable to cover or even to compensate to some extent for the increased expenditure. After all, it is one thing to sell raw materials at world prices and another to produce output matching up to world standards. The republics that do not supply raw materials remain losers.

Azerbaijan

'Illegal Crossings' From Armenia Protested

NC0801214292 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1930 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Azerbaijan has sent a protest note to Armenia alleging that illegal crossings into the republic by foreigners is increasing.

The note, sent by the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry to the Armenian Foreign Ministry, describes the crossings as interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign republic and a blatant violation of international norms. The visit of foreign observers and reporters to Stepanakert to participate in the session of Nagorno-Karabakh's Supreme Soviet is particularly considered illegal.

Baku has warned Yerevan that Azerbaijan reserves the right to take necessary measures.

The Azerbaijani president has decreed that citizens should hand in illegally held weapons, ammunition, and explosives. Hunting rifles are excluded from the call. The decree says this measure is being taken to collect and stockpile all weapons in one location. The Defense Ministry has been instructed to implement the decree.

Armenian Attacks on Helicopter, Town Reported

NC0801164692 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] A helicopter was hit four times while flying from Agdam to Dagdagly, an Azerbaijani town in the Khodzhavend Rayon. The pilots, who said that the intensive fire aimed at the helicopter originated from Armenian residential areas, managed to land the helicopter with great difficulty. The helicopter was disabled and could not finish its flight; however, it was able to return to Agdam airport.

Unmarked helicopters—packed with ferocious criminals, arms, and military equipment—continue to fly to mountainous areas in the Nagorno-Karabakh region unhindered. So-called legal experts, democrats, and journalists, all of whom see the tragic situation of the Azerbaijani people as a source of political interest, have been flown into the region as well.

These flights frequently lead to tragedy. For example, two militia workers in the [name indistinct] and Akbeyli in Khodzhavend Rayon were killed while trying to fend off an attack by armed Armenians on 5 January. The national defense forces and the republic's militia silenced the firing.

Guard Post Attacked

NC0801165092 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] Armed Armenians supported by armored vehicles attacked a guard post manned by our self-defense forces in Geranboyskiy Rayon on 6 January. The Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs has reported that four armed men were killed and an armored vehicle was destroyed. One member of the self-defense forces was killed and seven others were wounded during their efforts to fend off the attack.

Situation on Border With Iran 'Aggravated'

LD0801125292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1157 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By Yevgeniy Znamenskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS)—The situation on the border with Iran in the Transcaucasus has become substantially aggravated over the past few days, a TASS correspondent has been told at the press center of the border troops. On 7 January 25 people, of whom 17 are Iranian citizens, were detained in the section of the Prishibinskiy border detachment for violating the border. Azerbaijani guerrillas also are aggravating the situation along the border, seizing arms and equipment from the border troops. For instance, a fuel tanker truck, belonging to the Nakhichevan border detachment, was stopped during the day on 7 January in the Nakhichevan region. The raiders took the driver's submachine gun and ammunition.

President Concerned About U.S. Relations

OW0801204092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2010 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the presidential press service in Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov has thanked U.S. President George Bush for granting diplomatic recognition to his republic, of which Bush notified the Azerbaijani president on January 3. In a response letter President Mutalibov expressed Azerbaijan's readiness to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and to build bilateral relations on the basis of international law.

At the same time, Mutalibov expressed concern over the "differences in the U.S. administration's approach" to diplomatic relations with Armenia and Azerbaijan. Washington is known to have established full diplomatic relations with Yerevan, while its diplomatic ties with Baku will for the time being be maintained through the U.S. ambassador in Moscow.

President Mutalibov's letter says such an approach "arouses surprise on the part of the Azerbaijani public." In his opinion, the presence of an American diplomatic mission in Azerbaijan is extremely important for getting unbiased information about the situation in the republic and in the Transcaucasian region as a whole.

Impact of Tension in Nagorno-Karabakh Viewed

LD0901100692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] The conference of heads of states which have joined the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], which took place in Minsk on the eve of the new year, showed that the transition from declaration to implementation in real terms has turned out to be much more difficult than it may have appeared at first.

Many experts described Minsk-2 as a failure. Maksim Sokolov, an observer from the weekly KOMMERSANT, believes that a resumption of Russian-Ukrainian contacts and a return to previous attempts to create a Slavonic alliance could be the most likely outcome of this fiasco. Events surrounding the Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian army could introduce serious tension into relations between our republics and create a real threat of the CIS—which is not yet fully formed—collapsing.

There are already enough threats to the existence of the CIS. The Karabakh conflict is not subsiding. Two Commonwealth states are virtually in a state of war. Our correspondents' reports from those two CIS states are still reminiscent of military dispatches. The latest ones are no exception. Azer Khalilov has reported from Baku:

[Khalilov] "According to a report received on 7 January from the information center of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, during the night of 6-7 January and throughout the morning of 7 January the Azerbaijan town of Khodzhaly in Nagorno-Karabakh was fired on from the direction of Armenian villages and the town of Khankendi [Stepanakert] with heavy guns and (?Alazay) rockets. A school, 12 houses, and the town hospital were reportedly destroyed. Three peaceful Azerbaijanis died, including a three year old child.

"Armenian guerrillas have also blown up a railway line, cutting Khodzhaly off from the outside world. According to reports, there is no food, water, or bread in the town. The guerrillas have deprived the residents of electricity. Azer Khalilov for the Russia's Radio news service, Baku."

How events in Nagorno-Karabakh are seen in Yerevan is described by Grigoriy Mkrtchyan:

[Mkrtchyan] "The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, despite the presence of observers and journalists, continues to be extremely tense. Over the past 24 hours localized clashes between Armenian self-defense forces and Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] units have been noted in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. From 30 December to 2 January six Armenians in the rayon disappeared; five headless corpses—of the missing persons—were discovered during the night of 6-7 January. The villages of Karachinar and Manashid continue to take on fire; two children have been wounded.

"Stepanakert, capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, is relatively calm. A session of the republic's Supreme Soviet is under way. On the agenda are the election of a chairman, the adoption of temporary legal provisions, and the elaboration of measures to ensure the republic's vital activity under extreme conditions.

"The parliamentary session has also adopted an appeal to the secretary general of the United Nations, the leaders and governments of the world's countries, and the leaders of the member countries of the CIS, calling upon them to establish diplomatic relations with the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic in view of the fact that this is extremely important for a young republic struggling for independence.

"A meeting of the Stepanakert public has requested that representatives of the mass information media not change the name of Stepanakert when mentioning the capital of the republic. The representatives expressed surprise over the stance of some Russian correspondents who are using the name Khankendi. We were and are residents of Stepanakert, the capital of an independent republic, stresses the appeal to the mass information media.

"Grigoriy Mkrtchyan, SNARK news agency, special for Russia's Radio news service."

We contacted Baku again to hear Azerbaijan's reaction to the appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic to the United Nations. Azer Khalilov is on the line again:

[Khalilov] "In a conversation with me Rasim Musabekov, adviser to the president of the Republic of Azerbaijan on interethnic issues, commented on these reports. He observed first that appeals to the United Nations containing that kind of request are new in world practice, as the functions of this organization do not include state recognition. Second, appeals to the United Nations have to be made by official, constitutional authorities or state structures, and the unauthorized Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and its self-styled leaders are not entities of that kind."

Report Details Problems in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC0801221592 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The situation remains tense in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKAO]. After sunset, Stepanakert plunges into a darkness broken only by missiles. Off-duty self-defense fighters are the only people allowed to remain at home. Most of capital's young people are in the army barracks in full combat readiness. The rest of the population spends their night in their basements.

The intensive attacks on Stepanakert have stopped because a group of Russian parliamentarians, the British parliamentarian Baroness Caroline Cox, and a group of reporters have arrived in Stepanakert. The presence of the observers, however, does not stop the Azerbaijani side from firing on Stepanakert's suburbs.

There is still no water, no gas, no heating, and no telephone lines.

At a news conference yesterday, Baroness Cox said that she will inform the British prime minister and presidents of NATO countries that all signs indicate that a policy of genocide is going to be carried out against the Armenian people of the NKAO. John Eybner, the representative of the international "Christian Solidarity" movement, said he agrees with Cox.

Impact of Army Withdrawal Noted

PM0901104592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Special correspondent Arkadiy Semenyaka report: "Bullet in Heart. Internal Troops Leave Some Parts of Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Khankendi (Stepanakert)-Gyandzha-Moscow—They have left Nagorno-Karabakh and the commanding heights along the administrative border of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The soldiers pulled out hastily and at night, led by their commanding officers, and without the honors which the local leadership and the inhabitants of the mountain region rendered them on their arrival.

How is the withdrawal of internal troops from the region to be evaluated? As a betrayal of the local population or as a correct step, albeit a belated one, on the way to stabilizing the situation?

Time will provide the answer to this question. But it is possible to maintain that the presence of the forces of law and order of the former Union in Nagorno-Karabakh has not led to an improvement in the situation. Although, hundreds and thousands of Azerbaijanis and Armenians have stayed alive thanks to the presence of internal troop soldiers in Nagorno-Karabakh and the border region during all these years. People in Khankendi (Stepanakert) have taken a negative view of the troop withdrawal. The rest of the population of mountain villages has espoused this view.

With what feelings have the soldiers and officers gone home, to Russia?

I heard various opinions in the posts, in Stepanakert, and during the march to Gyandzha military airfield. Some were bitter at what was happening: There will now be no limit to interethnic feuds, and local inhabitants will suffer as a result, because visits by political emissaries of various kinds will not lead to peace.

Others were really dismayed: Does not the fate of the representatives of the Riga OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] await them in Russia? After a while will not reliable envoys [nadezhnyye poslantsy] or executors of kangaroo court verdicts show up for them from the Transcaucasus?

Yet others were agonizingly seeking the answer to this question: Why had they been sent there? Why had the politicians been using an inadmissible argument—the force of arms—for almost four years? Why had they, Russian boys, been exposed to bullets for so long in the Transcaucasus, when their coevals from these places were refusing to serve in the Army?

The commanding officers of the subunits whose posts were located along the border on the territory of the two republics could see the hopelessness of the troops' presence in the region. While engaged in organizing and controlling the service, the officers met every day with the republics' inhabitants and with local leaders and heard from them only words condemning the bloody excesses. But a visiting representative of a people's formation had only to appear in a settlement and the local residents silently carried out his demands. The subunit's commanding officer had only to take measures to suppress unlawful actions and a corresponding reaction followed at once: There would be no food, electricity, or water for the servicemen.

At Gyandzha military airfield one of the soldiers blurted out to me:

"Here I have understood the meaning of life! I have learned its value. It is worth nothing in Karabakh! They might hunt you like a wild animal! Take you hostage so as to exchange you later, like a commodity! Or kill you!"

Short in height, thin, and brown-eyed, he seemed to have been brought to despair. His lips were blue either from the penetrating wind or from inner tension.

"His friend died a week ago," some soldiers standing there explained to me. "He just cannot put what happened out of his mind. When he speaks, he starts shouting at once."

For several days the soldiers had been waiting for military transport aircraft to arrive—the bad weather had delayed them. They had waited without food, shelter, or warmth. In order to warm themselves somehow they lit bonfires made from tires from abandoned vehicles.

The withdrawal of internal troops from Nagorno-Karabakh and the border regions has taken place quickly and, from the military viewpoint, in an organized manner. But from a purely human viewpoint it cannot be called normal. On hearing of the soldiers' departure, representatives of bandit formations stepped up their actions: They began not only committing outrages in the city and the villages but also firing on servicemen and attacking troop columns.

An incident that occurred near the settlement of Imeret-Gervent was particularly scandalous. Four Armenian hitmen attacked two soldiers. They struck them on the head and arms with axes. In the skirmish one of the soldiers shot three of the attackers at the scene of the crime. The fourth managed to flee.

The servicemen of Stepanakert Garrison had a hard time during the withdrawal. Their tent camp by the railroad station came under constant fire. Several servicemen were wounded. One of them died without regaining consciousness.

An officer received an injury. A bullet lodged in his right auricle. A team of medics from the internal troops' central military hospital had to fight for his life. (They brought the injured officer to Moscow, where he was operated on. Physicians hope that the officer will live).

It was then that an internal troops special motorized unit was blockaded in the military camp and weapons were seized. The criminals gave out submachine guns and ammunition to 15-year-olds. Disorderly shooting began in the city...

Military medics, including ones from the internal troops' central hospital, were subjected to humiliation. Clothes, footwear, and money were taken from them. And yet in the operating theater the surgeon, the anesthesiologist, and other physicians had saved the lives not just of servicemen alone....

In the staff of the troop operational group Colonel V. Lapshin informed me of these figures:

"During all the time that the internal troops have been in Nagorno-Karabakh 26 servicemen have died here. Twenty-one in the past, and another four during the withdrawal [figures as published]. Precisely 208 servicemen have been injured."

...Heavy IL's took off into the dark sky at 10-minute intervals. Russia's soldiers were returning home in them. But gunmen have stepped up their actions in Nagorno-Karabakh and the border districts.

Nagorno-Karabakh Parliament Elects Chairman

NC0801191092 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The first session of the Supreme Soviet of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] continued its deliberations today in Stepanakert.

Following the meeting it was revealed that neither Leonard Petrosyan nor Artur Mkrtchyan, the two initial

candidates for the post of Supreme Soviet chairman, received the necessary number of votes.

Following the initial voting, five candidates for the post were then proposed: Oleg Yesayan, Robert Kocharyan, Levon Melik-Shahnazaryan, Boris Arushanyan, and Artur Mkrtchyan. In the end, 33-year-old Artur Mkrtchyan was elected chairman of the NKR Supreme Soviet. Mkrtchyan is the director of the geological museum in Gadrut.

The republic's parliament is made up of 82 deputies. Eighteen seats have been reserved for the Azerbaijanis. The session will continue its deliberations tomorrow. Baroness Caroline Cox and other guests who were present at the session left Stepanakert today for Yerevan.

While the capital has been relatively calm during the sessions, combat operations (?did not cease) in the rayons. For example, yesterday evening, 200 OMON [Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment] members armed with automatic weapons and accompanied by three armored cars attacked the village of Chartar in Martuninskiy Rayon. Armenian self-defense forces repulsed the guerrillas.

Nakhichevan Parliament Takes Over Military

OW0801155492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Medjlis (parliament) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (making up part of Azerbaijan) has passed a resolution transferring all facilities, armaments and equipment of the Soviet forces stationed on Nakhichevan's territory to republican control. The Supreme Medjlis ordered the units' commands to present information about everything they have under control and banned the removal of any military property, except for military servicemen's personal things, from the autonomous republic.

The units' commands were also ordered to file proposals concerning their further legal status.

The resolution indicates that from now on all armed forces located on the territory of Nakhichevan must be subordinated to the Supreme Medjlis.

Committee Reviews Results of Independence Vote

NC0801170792 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] The Azerbaijan Republic's Central Referendum Committee met on 7 January to summarize the results of the referendum on Azerbaijani independence. Chairman Ali Kerimov presided over the meeting. It was noted that the voting was held in full accordance with the law and in an atmosphere of openness. An overwhelming majority of the people voted. Parliamentary representatives from Russia, Belarus, and Uzbekistan and representatives from Turkey, the United States, and other countries took part in the referendum as observers.

Of the 3,937,514 eligible voters, 3,751,174 voted; that is, 95.27 percent of the electorate. A total of 99.58 percent of those who voted favored independence, which was later declared by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet. Some 9,076 votes were cast against independence and 6,748 ballots were declared null and void.

The 13,142 Azerbaijanis who live in various parts of the former Soviet Union voted in favor of independence.

The Central Referendum Committee adopted a decision in line with the results of the referendum.

Train Hostage Turned Over to Nakhichevan

NC0901095992 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 0300 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The Baku-Nakhichevan passenger train was stopped at the Megri railway station in Armenia on 16 December 1991 and its passengers were taken hostage. As a result of negotiations, 110 passengers were released and transferred to Azerbaijan. Another passenger, Serher Idris ogly Abbasov, has been handed over to officials of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic at the border of Sederek Rayon in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic and Araratskiy Rayon in Armenia as a result of recent talks held between the two sides.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Demonstrate in Sukhumi

OW0801160192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On 8 January there was a mass demonstration in Sukhumi in support of the overthrown president of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia. About 2,000 people took part—most of whom were Georgians demanding the restoration of Georgia's lawful leader and calling for a counter-attack against the former Georgian opposition, now in power, as well as encouraging acts of insubordination.

A similar demonstration took place on 7 January in Sukhumi.

Shevardnadze Elected Party Honorary Chairman

OW0801161392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent learned that Eduard Shevardnadze has been elected honorary chairman of the Georgian Democratic Party (its leader is Valeriy Kvaratskheliya).

In response to his election Mr. Shevardnadze has stated that he is prepared to organize a movement on revival of democratic Georgia. "This is the only way out, but it requires peace and concord in society," he said.

On January 6 the former Soviet foreign minister congratulated the Georgian people on the victory of the democratic revolution.

In an interview with IF the Georgian National Democratic Party representative in Moscow Georgiy Zumbadze suggested that Mr. Shevardnadze could be appointed as state adviser of the new Georgian leadership.

Tbilisi Communications Up, Airport Cleared

LD0901031692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1930 GMT 8 Jan 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] According to Georgian Minister of Communications Oleg Keshelava, practically all post offices in Tbilisi and other areas of the republic began operations on January 8. According to Keshelava, the telephone station for 2,500 extensions located in the government house have been completely burned and destroyed. Special communications center used by population to get in touch with 01, 02, 03 services (firefighters, police, medical emergency) has been put out of order. Some shots were also fired at the building of the central telegraph and international telephone communication station located in the end of the Rustaveli Avenue. Telephone and teletype equipment have been damaged as well as the space communications antenna which, according to the minister, could hardly be repaired. Due to frequent turning off, many telephone switchboard stations were put partially out of order.

Local TV and radio are functioning normally. Their broadcasts could be received in almost all the areas of the republic. The First Channel of the central TV has been turned on. Some local and central newspapers were published on January 8.

On January 8 the Tbilisi airport was demined, regular flights were resumed.

School studies at the secondary schools of Tbilisi have been postponed for undeclared time after the vacations. As to the schools in other cities and villages of Georgia, the studies there were resumed on January 8.

IZVESTIYA Views Unstable Situation

PM0901112792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Tbilisi: How Are We To Survive Amid the Ruins?"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 8 Jan—On Christmas Eve Catholic Patriarch of All Georgia Ilia II prayed in Tbilisi's Zion Cathedral for his flock while shots rang out in various parts of the city. Surab Potsoveliya, the city military commandant's press secretary, told me in the morning that the Military Council's armed formations are suppressing opposition from Gamsakhurdia's supporters, who scattered throughout the city after their boss's escape.

In the afternoon of 7 January shots were once again heard in Tbilisi. Roughly 3,000-4,000 of Gamsakhurdia's supporters organized a procession from the railroad station to the "Delisi" subway station in one of the central rayons of the city. Around 15 men with assault rifles drove up to the demonstrators and opened fire here. However, at a news conference in the evening Dzhaba Ioseliani, member of the Military Council, categorically denied a report that there had been any injuries whatsoever. He said that blanks were fired and added that such rallies will continue to be stopped. Ioseliani belives that the only ban introduced during the state of emergency is the ban on rallies and demonstrations, and it must be observed. When asked why if it is so necessary to disperse Gamsakhurdia's supporters that it is not done by more civilized means, another member of the Military Council, Tengiz Kitovani, remarked that they do not have special means at their disposal to disperse demonstrators in a "civilized" way. During the news conference Kitovani said that the situation in many areas of Georgia is stable and under the control of the new authorities. However, according to the military authorities, groups of gunmen are forming in some western parts of Georgia, in particular in the city of Samtrediya, to move into the Tianetskiye woods 50 km north of Tbilisi. Every effort is being made to prevent this, authorities said.

When asked about Eduard Shevardnadze's possible role in Georgia's political life, Kitovani replied that everything was done during Gamsakhurdia's rule to turn the public against this man. So, he added, it does not seem possible for him to come to Georgia in the near future. However, later, when public opinion has improved, he may easily come home and even hold a fitting place among us, Kitovani concluded.

As for Gamsakhurdia, who stressed in all his interviews until his escape from the bunker that everything happening in Tbilisi had been perpetrated by Shevardnadze, he is known to be in Armenia. Dzhaba Ioseliani replied that Tengiz Sigua has had contact with the Armenian authorities and that Georgian authorities will try to get Gamsakhurdia extradited as a state criminal as soon as all the requisite legal papers have been gathered together.

None of the journalists managed to meet with Tengiz Sigua, premier of the provisional government. His scheduled news conference was not held either. According to his closest comrades-in-arms, Sigua is facing so many problems and worries that he does not have any free time. It was learned from reliable sources that the republic is on the brink of economic catastrophe. There are enough food stocks left for a few days. There are greater difficulties with fuel and electricity. The

banks have virtually no cash. Transportation is paralyzed. According to reports from the Transcaucasus Railroad Administration, unknown persons in the vicinity of Ingiri station near the city of Zugdidi dismantled the railroad. The eastern part of the republic has found itself under a transportation blockade.

One of Sigua's aides said that the question of how to live in the future is not yet being raised. It is being formulated more starkly—how to survive—and it is therefore tactless in the least to ask today about the government's attitude about the Commonwealth of Independent States and other matters pertaining to strategic problems.

Men carrying assault rifles are the main protagonists on the streets of Tbilisi. They have also become a usual sight amid the ruins of Rustaveli Boulevard and the city's busy intersections. According to reports from the military commandant's office, around 100 firearms have now been confiscated. But shots are still being fired—and quite frequently too. A rally of Zviad's supporters was scheduled for 1200 hours 8 January in the station square. Meanwhile, Military Commandant Georgiy Karkarashvili has temporarily turned over his duties to his deputy. I was told that at this time he is burying men from his "White Eagle" battalion—the assault detachment of Tengiz Kitovani's guard. Half the battalion are left.

Georgia is experiencing strange and incomprehensible times today—times full of grief, confusion, fear, and hope. Artists and playwrights are in command of military formations and are joining the Military Council, while militiamen at their posts are distracted and have conceived a passion for literature and do not notice anyone or anything. There are lines for bread and Georgia's former president, who is now not described as anything but a dictator even by those who sang his praises a month ago, is trying to emigrate to the West from Armenia. But the people are not losing their presence of mind.

Renewed Clashes Reported in South Ossetia

LD0801124492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 8 Jan (TASS)—Following three days of relative calm, the situation has again flared up sharply in South Ossetia. According to the press center of the information committee, shooting broke out again between the warring sides last night on the distant approaches to Tskhinval and in Znauri Rayon. Gunmen brought the northern and southern residential areas of the town and communal amenities under machine gun, rocket, and artillery fire from the neighboring Georgian villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Prisi, and Eredvi.

Internal Troops' checkpoints, military barracks, and the territory of a helicopter regiment also came under fire. Sub-units of the Ossetian guard and self-defense units returned fire to suppress firing positions on the Georgian side. Seven civilians received gunshot wounds in the course of the shooting.

The fresh outbreak of confrontation is linked with the dramatic events in the Georgian capital, in the view of the commander of the South Ossetian armed forces Oleg Teziyev. It has been learned from reliable sources that several guerrilla units have returned from Tbilisi to the outskirts of Tskhinval—their previous locations—and they have resumed firing on populated centers in South Ossetia.

The transportation and food supply blockade around Tskhinval has still not been lifted. All of the circuitous routes by which humanitarian aid had reached the beleaguered town from Vladikavkaz are under the control of the Georgian side. There is a catastrophic shortage of food products, medical supplies, and fuel in the republic's administrative center. Refugees are continuing to arrive in the North Ossetian SSR from South Ossetia and other regions of Georgia where there are enclaves of Ossetians. According to official figures there are currently more than 100,000 in Vladikavkaz and its suburbs. The problem of accommodating and providing them with amenities has been extremely aggravated in the republic.

South Ossetian Leader Doubts End of Conflict

OW0801165992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The South Ossetian leader Znaur Gassiyev has expressed doubts that Georgian opposition forces which came to power are willing or able to settle the Georgian-Ossetian conflict. "I believe neither Sigua, nor Kitovani, as I have not believed Gamsakhurdia earlier," Mr. Gassiyev noted without specifying the reason.

In recent days the present leaders of Georgia have repeatedly announced their willingness to resolve the conflict in South Ossetia as soon as possible. On January 5 they released the former leader of South Ossetia Torez Kulumbegov who had been held in a Tbilisi prison on charges of stirring up ethnic hatred and separatism.

Meanwhile, last night was relatively calm in South Ossetia, the North Ossetian Interior Ministry says. Georgian armed groups fired at the administrative center, the city of Tskhinval and the stations of Soviet Interior Ministry troops. No casualties have been reported.

Georgia To Hold Elections in Spring

OW0801141292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's interim government has said that parliamentary elections will be held as early as the coming spring. According to its statement published Tuesday [7

January] evening, representatives of all parties and political organizations, including the "Round Table-Free Georgia" bloc that was in power under President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, will be able to take part in them. When asked what he will do after the parliamentary elections, the commander of the National Guard Tenghiz Kitovani said that he will evidently leave politics and return to arts, since he is an artist by profession. Another leader of the military council, Jaba Ioseliani, said that he will evidently claim no more than a seat in the parliament.

The new leaders told newsmen Tuesday evening that some armed supporters of Gamsakhurdia persist in their attempts to destabilize the situation and sow panic in Tbilisi, and therefore all demonstrations in the city will be prevented.

The state of emergency imposed by the military council is still in effect in Tbilisi. Meetings and demonstrations are banned. J. Ioseliani has said this is why he had ordered to disperse Tuesday's meeting of Gamsakhurdia's supporters as a result of which there were casualties.

In the meantime meetings in support of Z. Gamsakhurdia were staged on Tuesday in Kutaisi and Sukhumi. They gathered several hundred people. Still there is no movement of trains at the Sukhumi section of the Trans-Caucasus railway. Train drivers demand that Z. Gamsakhurdia be reinstated.

Estonia

Government Stops Flour Supply to Soviet Army

OW0801172792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1519 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Government has stopped supplying the Soviet army units stationed in Estonia with flour, cereals and bakery products because of their shortage, said the Estonian news agency ETA on Tuesday [7 January].

Last year Russia failed to deliver 125,000 tons of grain to Estonia. In the 4th quarter of last year it stopped all deliveries of cereals. The resumption of such deliveries in 1992 is not envisaged, the agency stressed.

According to ETA, all Soviet army units stationed in Estonia have been informed of the planned moves.

In some areas of Estonia the shortages of bakery products, particularly wheat bread, are acute. In its second-largest city, Tartu, for instance, wheat bread is not baked at all. The city of Viljandi has introduced coupons whose holders are entitled to 1 long loaf of bread a month. In other Estonian cities there are neither coupons nor bread.

Only 2,000 tons of wheat flour are left in Estonia, newsmen were told at a briefing in Tallinn on Monday [6 January].

Commander Threatens 'Revolt'

OW0801222092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2048 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The commander of the Tallinn garrison, Vice-Admiral Yuriy Belov, has informed journalists that food supplies to the forces stationed in Estonia were stopped on January 2. "I don't only mean bread, flour or cereals," he said. "They're getting no food whatsoever." He expressed the hope that food would be arriving from Russia.

"Otherwise we'll revolt," the vice-admiral warned.

He said the Estonian government's claim that the ex-Soviet armed forces had demanded that Estonia give them twice as much bread and cereals this year as it had done last year were groundless. "The forces have always been buying food with their own money," he added, "and they're willing to pay now as well."

ETA, the official Estonian news agency, reported the stoppage of food supplies yesterday (January 7), quoting the Department of State and Border Protection of the Estonian government.

However the government's press secretary, Mr. Neeme Brus, said in Tallinn that the government had taken no decision on that score.

Foreign Minister on Nuclear Inspection Readiness

LD0901024992 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Arkadiy Prisyazhniy]

[Text] Helsinki January 8 TASS—Two secret nuclear reactors exist on Estonian territory at the Paldiski military base, which pose a considerable threat both to Estonia and northern Europe, according to Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri. The new Commonwealth of Independent States should urgently withdraw its tactical nuclear weapons deployed in the Baltic republic, the minister told the Helsinki SANOMAT newspaper. "We believe this affects the interests not only of the Baltic states, but also of North European countries and Germany," he pointed out.

According to the Estonian foreign minister, Estonia is ready to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. It hopes the three Baltic states will conclude an agreement on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on their respective territories.

"The Estonian parliament has approved Estonia's joining of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. During my recent visit to Vienna I contacted the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and said Estonia's borders were open and we are ready to welcome international nuclear inspection groups," Lennart Meri said.

In his opinion, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia could sign an agreement on the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Baltic region and announce their refusal to acquire and deploy tactical nuclear weapons. He believes the withdrawal of nuclear weapons of the new Commonwealth from the territory of the Baltic region under international control is a condition for the creation of a nuclear- free zone. Meri expressed concern that talks on the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Estonia had not yet been started. At the same time, Meri said the Estonian Government did not have exact information about the type and area of deployment of small-range nuclear weapons, but "their presence has been confirmed by various methods."

The withdrawal of CIS Armed Forces from Estonia meets the interests of neighbouring countries, Meri said in conclusion. He expressed hope the northern countries would help Estonia's building industry, which could take part in building dwelling for the CIS servicemen withdrawn from the republic.

Government To Discuss Food Supplies, Visas

LD0901113892 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 9 Jan 92

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloverian]

[Text] Tallinn January 9 TASS—Bread and milk prices were raised in Estonian today. A kilo of white bread will be sold for three roubles, one litre of milk for 6-7 roubles. Prices for other dairy products will go up correspondingly.

The Estonian Government will meet behind closed doors today to discuss food supplies. The government is expected to discuss the introduction of cheque books for shoppers and of visas for crossing the border between Estonia, Russia and Latvia.

Estonian 'Compulsory' for Trade, Service Spheres

OW0901004692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2048 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 1 a regulation was enforced in Estonia making knowledge of the Estonian language compulsory for anyone employed in trade and the service sphere in general. Any enterprise in this sphere has a right to dismiss any of its employees who does not have adequate command of the language. The Language Department of Estonia has made an official statement to this effect. Now a shop assistant or a waiter has to address a client in Estonian before using any other language.

Soldiers Desert, Protest Living Conditions

PM0901112192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jan 92 p 3

[Captain Second Rank V. Gromak report under "Direct Line" rubric: "The Estonian Press Cites Incidents of Desertion from the New Army. The Military Department Does Not Deny Them"]

[Text] Recently the republic mass media has being speaking less than enthusiastically about the service of young men in the Estonian Army. Reality has turned out to be far from rosy. Just before New Year, the papers cited the opinion of Anst Laaneots, acting chief of the Estonian Republic Defense Forces Main Staff. He believes that the drafting commissions in two districts of Tallinn (the East and South) have not been able to ensure a turnout of the necessary number of young people. It is difficult to influence draft dodgers: There is no law on conscription in Estonia, and the government's decision to draft its own Army is a run-of-the-mill administrative ordinance from the executive authorities which can be disregarded without special risk.

Things are even worse with those who responded to the draft and are now preparing to guard prisons. Kalle Andrek, deputy director of the department of prisons, is concerned by the moral and physical qualities of the draftees. After three week's training he would trust only half of the new recruits with arms, and even then with reservations.

And what of the youths themselves? The newspaper PAEVALEHT has published the interesting testimony of two young people who walked out of the barracks on Magazin Street in Tallin. These youths can be numbered among the most stalwart soldiers of the Estonian Republic's newborn Armed Forces. Of 250 soldiers, the newspaper reports, not more than two dozen remain in their places at the present time. The rest went home much earlier. In the words of the draftees, the living conditions in the barracks are "even worse than in the Soviet Army." The dormitories are virtually without heating. The food is terrible. In the kitchen only one boiler is in good working order. Washing is also difficult, since only one faucet is working in the wash basin.

Ex-Soviet Border Guard Posts Damaged

OW0901004792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2048 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The General Director of Estonia's Department for State and Border Protection, Mr. Andrus Oovel, said in Tallinn that there had recently been increasing instances of former Soviet border guard posts being damaged. Thus in the early hours of January 5 fire was set to a post in Rohuneeme, near Tallinn.

"This is the way some Estonians show their anger for Soviet border guards," he said, but he added that many of the posts had been empty after 600 soldiers recruited for the Soviet border guard service were deported from Estonia in December.

Fourth Quarter Cash Flow Increases 34%

OW0901004592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2048 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ms. Galina Litvinova, deputy president of the Bank of Estonia, has informed BF [BALTFAX] that cash circulation in Estonia had in the fourth quarter of 1991 increased by 34% by comparison to that in the third quarter of the year. She also said the population now had between two and four billion roubles in its possession.

First Gas Auction Planned for 10 Jan

OW0901004892 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2048 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 10 Estonia will have its first petrol auction. The ETA agency reports that there will be 1,200 tonnes of A-76 and 250 tonnes of A-93 petrol put on sale. Nothing is reported about the starting prices, however.

Latvia

Russia, Others' Independence Recognized

LD0801204192 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia today officially recognized the state independence of Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan.

The declaration on the recognition of the state independence of Russia included a demand for deciding the question on the withdrawal of USSR Armed Forces from the Republic of Latvia. The declaration was only adopted after prolonged and complex discussion.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Concerns

LD0901082592 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Interview with Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis by reporter Dzintra Seso on 7 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] In the new year the old problems remain. New tasks come as well. Talking today to our colleague, reporter Dzintra Seso, about problems in the realm of defense is Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis:

[Jundzis] I want to say that defense is necessary. There has been no coup, and we hope there will be no coup.

[Seso] We hope the prophecies will not be fulfilled.

[Jundzis] I think they will not be fulfilled, to a large extent, if opponents feel that we have a defense force. That is why we need this defense force. This year our ministry has an extremely big task. I feel that last year parliament adopted all the main laws regulating our defense questions. This year this legislation will really be implemented.

[Seso] Perhaps you should tell our listeners about this.

[Jundzis] We have a law in force on compulsory state service, which requires that every youth who 18 years of age must perform this compulsory state service either in military formations or in the national economy if not as many are needed in the military. In this connection I want to emphasize that we have further tightened the requirements on the health of the new recruits. The requirements are no longer what applied for induction into the Soviet Army. If a person was almost an invalid, he could still be called to serve in the Soviet Army. That is how it was. Now we will have extremely [word indistinct] requirements. If we could afford it, we could call up an unnecessary number of youths into our military formations, but since there will not be so many of them, we will have to make distinctions in their state of health.

[Seso] What will these youths do?

[Jundzis] If the state of health does not meet the requirements for service in the defense forces, in the military formations, the youths will be released from service. That is in the law. [passage omitted]

Godmanis Notes Mechanism for Troop Withdrawal

LD0901083792 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] After the talks with Russian Government representatives, Ivars Godmanis, leader of the Latvian delegation, announced that there was discussion on the economic mechanism for withdrawing the Army. The Russian side expressed the conviction that the foreign army would be withdrawn from Latvian territory.

[Word indistinct] that there will be separate talks on the future fate of the Armed Forces' property, said Janis Dinevics, minister of state of the Republic of Latvia. The Russian side's statements testify that this withdrawal will not be forced, and could be drawn out to five to seven years.

Talks With Russia on Fuel Achieve 'Progress'

LD0901084292 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 2030 GMT 7 Jan 92

[Text] After talks in Moscow with representatives of the Russian Government, the Latvian delegation announced that progress was achieved on the issue of fuel supplies to Latvia. The Latvian delegation succeeded in reaching understanding on the fuel supplies and the future location of the former USSR Army in Latvia. The sides agreed that supplies for the functioning of the former USSR forces on Latvian territory are to be included in the overall balance of mutual supplies between Latvia and Russia. Ivars Godmanis, leader of the Latvian Government, after his talks with Russian Vice Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, stated that clarity was achieved in the talks in regard to power supply. It was announced that supplies will be made through various channels. At present the Latvian Government has not made any more detailed explanation of this. It is clear that the future maintenance of the army of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Latvia will be partially compensated with petroleum products.

Restrictions on Trips to Poland Extended

OW0801173592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1519 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis has signed a resolution prolonging restrictions on trips to Poland till July 1, reports the newspaper "DIENA". Earlier restrictions on trips to Poland were imposed till December 31, 1991.

Kaliningrad Border Post Closed to Travellers

LD0801153192 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0630 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] The press service of the Latvian Foreign Ministry has informed the LETA news agency that the border posts of Bagrationovsk and Mamonovo in Kaliningrad Oblast are closed to residents of Latvia who are going to Poland on service and private trips. This decision was adopted by the government of Kaliningrad Oblast, and was justified on the grounds of the critical sanitary situation near the border, caused by the great flood of tourists.

Lithuania

Government Protests Military Maneuvers

OW0801172592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1519 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's government has protested against the plan of the command of the North-Western Group of troops to conduct air defense exercises and land maneuvers near Lithuania's capital Vilnius on January 8.

Lithuania's charge d'affaires in Moscow E. Bickauskas said he was amazed by the military's unwillingness to coordinate their actions with Lithuania and by their high-handedness.

According to E. Bickauskas, such actions violate Lithuania's sovereignty. They are not conducive to normal and mutually beneficial relations between members of the CIS, in particular Russia, on the one hand, and Lithuania, on the other.

On the threshold of the anniversary of last year's January 13 tragedy in Lithuania this action pursues only one goal: to push tensions up again, said Lithuania's charge d'affaires.

CIS Command: No Military Exercises in Baltics

OW0901010492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2048 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF [BALTFAX] has been informed in the press service of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] that "no military exercises are at present being held on the territory of the Baltic countries."

On January 6 the Lithuanian Prime Minister, Mr. Gediminas Vagnorius, had a telegram informing him that anti-aircraft forces stationed on Lithuanian territory would be holding exercises using the Vilnius/Kaunas, Vilnius/Ignalina, Liepaja/Klaipeda and Siauliai/Klaipeda motor roads. The telegram had a request to Mr. Vagnorius to "give necessary instrctions to the government bodies concerned."

The Prime Minister responded by sending a telegram of protest to the commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth armed forces, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, emphasising that "no exercises can be held on Lithuanian territory without the consent of the government of the Lithuanian Republic, which is a requirement of international law."

Germany To 'Teach' Lithuania Troop Management

LD0901022792 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 8 Jan 92

[By correspondent Aleksandr Semenov]

[Text] Bonn January 8 TASS—German Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg met with his Lithuanian colleague Audrius Butkevicius in West Germany on Wednesday [8 January]. They determined that Bundeswehr would teach the Lithuanian military how to manage their troops.

According to sources in the German Defence Ministry, the two sides discussed development in the Baltic states, security problems in Europe and cooperation within the North Atlantic Council.

Stoltenberg particularly emphasised that the federal government "gives special priority" to support political, economic, and cultural processes in the Baltic states.

Norwegian Defense Official on Military Scene

LD0901120592 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Jan 92

[Excerpts] A roundtable discussion took place in the republic's parliament today. Taking part were representatives of the Norwegian Defense Planning Commission and, for Lithuania, Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Bronislovas Kuzmickas, Deputy Defense Minister Jonas Gecas, and representatives of the parliamentary committees on national defense and the restoration of statehood of Lithuania. The discussion lasted for two and a half hours. Karre Willock, chairman of the Norwegian Defense Planning Commission, gave an interview to our program immediately afterward.

[Begin recording of Willock in English fading into Russian report] In Norway we have established a commission to consider regional defense policy for the next five years. We are planning and assessing the future situation in the entire Scandinavian region, including the Baltics. Security here is the most important factor. We see the possibility of our country having to take a risk; naturally, any armed conflict in this area would have a radical influence on the situation in our country.

Answering a correspondent's question on the specific aid Norway could render to Lithuania in practical terms, Kaare Willock said: This is exactly what the two states are discussing at the moment. I head the Defense Commission and understand perfectly well Lithuania's wish to receive aid in setting up her armed forces. No country could tolerate any military vacuum at any time. [passage omitted]

We asked: The USSR does not exist any more, yet the Soviet Armed Forces remain. What option, according to your point of view, would be ideal? Mr. Willock said: I suppose that the state which is the heir to the Soviet Union must clarify their problems as soon as possible and restore civilian control over the military forces. This is an absurd situation: The state does not exist, yet units of the armed forces do. Of course the situation is a paradox which no doubt presents a danger to those countries in which the armed forces are deployed. I sincerely hope all these military units will be sent home as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

What were the main problems discussed at today's meeting? The main problem is the presence of the Soviet troops and the necessity of withdrawing these troops. We also discussed long-term prospects, what is needed to ensure the future security of Lithuania, and how this security could be ensured. We also discussed Lithuania's relations with her neighbors and the possibility of a continuing stabilization. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Food Prices Continue To Increase; Shops Empty

LD0901070192 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Today the prices for food products increased once more. Reports from various rayons bear witness to the fact that essentially nothing has changed. This morning there were virtually no food products in the shops. In the afternoon there were lines at the shops selling some products.

Starting today, agricultural products are being purchased at agreed prices. Unfortunately, experts at the Ministry of Agriculture are very concerned. There is virtually no delivery of animals to meat combines despite agreed prices. It seems that people and farms are not satisfied with the prices offered by the meat combines, which were announced by the government five days ago. The reality is that, having cut to pieces and sold at the market his pig, a farmer can obtain almost 3,000 rubles more than offered by the combine. Thus, he will deliver his meat to the market. There is a lot of logic in the farmer's reasoning that, when he wishes to buy a suit for 1,500 rubles, the shopkeeper will not sell it if he offers only 1,000 rubles. Why should a farmer deliver his pig to the combine if the price seems too low to him? What does this mean for town people, who realize that shortly the prices will go up once again.

Today is the first anniversary since the increase of prices by the Prunskiene government was revoked. We remember that day very well when, under the pretext of the increase of prices, the Yedinstvo leaders and their friends attacked the Supreme Council building. The most real steps toward the 13 January coup were taken then.

Agriculture Officials 'Released' From Posts

LD0901070592

[Editorial Report] Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian on 21 December carries an article entitled "Purge of the Cadres." The article states: "A decree was signed by the prime minister of the republic saying:

"1. Considering that the Ministry of Agriculture took a passive stand on the preparation and execution of agrarian reform, as well as on the control of activities of the agricultural departments at the rayon councils, the following officials have been released from their posts:

"A. Slezevicius, first deputy minister of agriculture, and A. Sviderskis, deputy minister of agriculture responsible for agrarian reform;

"2. Kestutis Kristinaitis is hereby appointed to the post of first deputy minister of agriculture of the republic of Lithuania. Albertas Gapsys is appointed to the post of deputy minister of agriculture of the Republic of Lithuania.

"3. The minister of agriculture must complete the reorganization of the staff of the ministry by the end of 1991 and ensure that the ministry becomes the center of agrarian reform."

The decree points out specific tasks and targets to be carried out by the ministry concerning agrarian reform and the protection of property against plunderers. The ministry must demand that officials in the provinces who hinder the reform be sacked. It says: "The Ministry of Agriculture must submit a proposal in 10 days to the government of Lithuania so that the government, on the grounds of the basic law on the local government of Lithuania, can make a demand to the rayon councils that the heads of the agricultural departments be relieved of their posts if the processes of agrarian reform are hindered. If the need arises, proposals should be submitted to the government of Lithuania concerning the need to dismiss the leaders of the rayon councils or their deputies."

Article 4 states: "The national defense minister should dismiss without delay Ignas Stankovicius, who is unlawfully acting as deputy director general of the National Defense Department. He should not be given any other post in the national defense system, as he has neglected his duties and failed to take care of the material and technical matters of national defense and the basic needs of soldiers and officers.

"The minister of national defense must strengthen discipline and order in the national defense system. Structural subunits of the ministry must be formed as quickly as

possible. Officers and specialists who are determined to serve Lithuania must be recruited. The material and technical basis of the national defense must be strengthened."

Among its points, Article 5 states: "Because some decisions of the Lithuanian Government were not carried out properly and on time, Klemensas Seputis is released from the post of first deputy minister of economy."

It is noted that the Ministry of Economy failed to prepare on time the regulations for interstate barter trade with the republics of the former Soviet Union.

Article 8 appoints Antanas Mercaitis to the post of first deputy minister of economy of Lithuania. Article 9 appoints Jonas Gecas as deputy minister of national defense.

Government Views Power Supply Problems

LD0901065192

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1700 GMT on 8 January carries a 20-minute report from a Lithuanian Government meeting held on 8 January.

The meeting was opened by Prime Minister Gedimanas Vagnorius, who said that the agenda was very extensive. He proposed that the power engineering problems that have emerged unexpectedly be discussed. He stated: "At the last government meeting we discussed difficulties in the supply of fuel, which could affect the power supply system. Together with Power Engineering Minister Asmontas we decided not to make any changes in power engineering in the next few days. [words indistinct] I have been informed that yesterday the leaders of the power supply system were absent from Vilnius. Using this, despite the government's decision to the contrary, a decision was made to limit and essentially discontinue the supply of power to industry.

"One must be concerned that the heads of our power engineering system on the evening of 7 January made a decision, outside their authority, as such a decision can only be made by the government, to virtually discontinue the supply of power to industry. We are receiving messages from industrial enterprises stopping their production that they are completely at a loss and do not understand why such a decision was made. They understand that there is a shortage of fuel and a shortage of power, but, in their opinion, even if there is no fuel, such decisions can be made in a different manner, [words indistinct] working at night. Of course, it is incomprehensible that such decision was made on the eve of the reorganization of the prices of food products and when people have many other troubles.

"I would like explanations to be given to the government."

Explanations were given by the chief engineer of the Lithuanian power engineering system, who said that the consumption of power was increasing, and it was decided to reduce the supply of power by 25 percent.

Vagnorius then proposes that the heads of the power engineering system be dismissed, that the minister appoint new heads, and that a commission be formed to investigate this incident and the situation in the power supply system. In view of the fact that some other incidents, provocations, or sabotage may take place in the future, this commission should be instructed to submit its conclusions in a week's time. Its materials should be handed over to the procuracy.

The meeting discussed the unsatisfactory work of some local government bodies. The government will continue its meeting.

Poles Demand Economic, Political Rights

LD0801173192 Warsaw PAP in English 1234 GMT 8 Jan 92

[Text] Vilnius, Jan. 8—The Main Board of the Union of Poles living in Lithuania, as well as other organizations of Polish milieus in that country, on Tuesday [7 January] stressed the need for the restoration of economic and political rights of Poles living in the Vilnius and Salcininkai regions.

In a statement addressed to the Polish and Lithuanian foreign affairs ministers in connection with the near date of the signing of the Polish-Lithuanian declaration, Polish organizations pointed to considerable differences between intentions included in the declaration and existing realities.

The text of the Polish-Lithuanian declaration on friendly relations and good neighbourly cooperation was initialled in Vilnius last week.